PLEASE, SIR,
I WANT SOME MORE

Being an Exhibition of the Works of Boz, and
Containing Some Account of His Trials and Tribulations with
Publishers and Illustrators, His Sojourn in the Far-Flung Colony of Canada,
and Sundry Descriptions of His Books:
the Whole Conducted by Richard Landon with the
Assistance of Dan Calinescu and Charles Dickens, Esq.

Library
of the
University of Toronto

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Frontispiece: Portrait of Dickens as a young man, after Daniel Maclise. Frontispiece of *Nicholas Nickleby*

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PREFACE

THIS exhibition is mounted by the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library in recognition of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Charles Dickens' visit to Canada, and also to celebrate the bibliophilic prowess of Dan Calinescu, a Toronto collector. The items displayed are from his collection. It is, perhaps, particularly significant that this exhibition and this catalogue should be produced by the University of Toronto. Dickens refers in *American Notes* to the laying of a corner-stone for a new college shortly before his arrival in May 1842; that building became the University of King's College, which in turn became the University of Toronto. Although Dickens spent only two days in Toronto he was in Canada for a month and his theatrical activities in Montreal, in retrospect, assume some real importance in the development of his career. When he came to America, Dickens was thirty years old, with a wife and four children, and had recently become famous as the author of *Pickwick Papers* and *Oliver Twist*. He arrived expectantly and left disillusioned, but not with Canada, which he saw as a haven of Britishness in the maelstrom of Yankee-doodledom. Although there were no Canadian editions of his works published during his life-time, he was avidly read in Canada in the English editions that poured from the presses and the American piracies that became a flood. The Toronto branch of the Dickens Fellowship received its charter in 1905 and is active today. Dickens' books, and his life, still provoke an active response from his great reading public.

The compilation of this catalogue has been greatly assisted by Marie Korey. The text, with the exception of the chapter on collecting, has been written by Richard Landon. The exhibition will be displayed in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library from November 9th 1992 to February 12th 1993.

Richard Landon
September 1992

'The thriving city of Eden, as it appeared in fact' by Hablot K. Browne from *Martin Chuzzlewit*

Chapter the First

DICKENS AND AMERICA

"The country round this town being very flat, is bare of scenic interest; but the town itself is full of life and motion, bustle, business and improvement. The streets are well paved, and lighted with gas; the houses are large and good; the shops excellent ... In the College of Upper Canada, which is one of the public establishments of the city, a sound education in every department of polite learning can be had, at a very moderate expense: the annual charge for the instruction of each pupil, not exceeding nine pounds sterling. The first stone of a new college had been laid but a few days before, by the Governor General. It will be a handsome, spacious edifice, approached by a long avenue, which is already planted and made available as a public walk."

H U S Charles Dickens described the Toronto of 1842 in his *American Notes*. He also expressed his "deep regret that political differences should have run high in this place" and, in a letter to John Forster, he writes "The wild and rabid toryism of Toronto, is, I speak seriously, appalling." In *American Notes*, published in October 1842, he reported the shooting of a political opponent of the Family Compact by an Orangeman, to which the *Toronto Herald* reacted strongly, on November 21st 1842, by accusing him of holding the city up "to public censure, as a place unfit for the abode of civilized man".

Dickens and his wife Catherine had come to Toronto by boat from Queenston on May 4th and they left for Kingston and Montreal on May 6th. They had just spent ten days in Niagara Falls which Dickens had thoroughly enjoyed, having been entranced by the grandeur of the Falls. Much of his enjoyment was also due to what he saw as his "escape" from the United States, where, for the first time in his life, he had been both overtly lionized and severely criticized. Dickens had embarked for America hopeful that he would find the practical manifestations of his liberal radical views realized and that he would have a sympathetic and friendly relationship with the members of the free and open society of the New World. He discovered how English he really was. Although he made many

friends and gazed approvingly at many institutions, he found the Americans' mercenary attitudes distasteful, their manners coarse and their adulation overwhelming. He also immediately involved himself in controversy over international copyright and the pirating of the works of English writers. In speeches and articles he accused American publishers of stealing the bread from his mouth, and attempted to organize a campaign to lobby the United States Congress to pass international copyright legislation. His efforts resulted only in harsh editorial criticism from some journalists, which Dickens bitterly resented. Some indication of his relief from the pressure of his tour is given in his letter to John Forster of April 26th 1842, which is headed "Niagara Falls !!! (upon the *English* Side)", with the word English underlined ten times.

The Dickens' stayed ten days in Niagara Falls. Their two day visit to Toronto seems to have been uneventful, although the *Toronto Patriot* reported on May 6th that they were paid "every attention that individuals could offer" and they dined with John Beverley Robinson, the Chief Justice, who had met Dickens in London. On May 7th the party reached Kingston and, after a three day visit, proceeded by boat and coach to Montreal, where they resided at Rasco's Hotel until May 30th.

Dickens had met the Earl of Mulgrave, an officer of the British garrison in Montreal, on the voyage across the Atlantic and had arranged with him to appear on stage with the Garrison Amateurs for the benefit of charity. The first mention of this is contained in a letter to C.C. Felton, written on April 29th: "What do you say to my *acting* at the Montreal Theatre? — I am an old hand at such matters, and am going to join the Officers of the Garrison in a public representation for the benefit of a local Charity. We shall have a Good House, they say." Dickens duly appeared in *A Roland for an Oliver*, *Past Two O'clock in the Morning* and *Deaf as a Post*, two light comedies and a farce, in two performances, one private and one public. Catherine also acted in the private performance of *Deaf as a Post*. Typically, he did not just act in them, but became the director and stage manager as well, and his letters are filled with the details of the arrangements. They were carried off with great success, one newspaper account favourably comparing Dickens' acting with that of the late Charles Mathews, the most famous comic actor of his day.

This occasion was the first on which Dickens had acted since he had arranged family theatricals as a child, although he had written and published three plays.

He was obviously very pleased with the experiment and wrote enthusiastically to Forster that "I really do believe that I was very funny". Back in England he continued to arrange and produce amateur performances, forming a kind of company of his friends for the purpose. In September 1845 the company performed Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, with Dickens as Captain Bobadil, at Fanny Kelly's theatre and, in July 1847, took the production on tour to Manchester and Liverpool for the benefit of the indigent Leigh Hunt. Performances of various plays in London and provincial centres continued throughout the 1850s and a different kind of theatrical event was added to Dickens' repertoire in December of 1853, when he gave his first public reading from *A Christmas Carol* in Birmingham. The readings then became an important aspect of his career and the source of considerable income. The theatre, and acting, played a central part in Dickens' life. He regularly attended performances of all kinds; the theatre permeates his fiction; many of his closest friends were actors; and he obviously loved performing. His experience in Montreal both confirmed his love of the theatre and suggested to him a new outlet for his talents and his energy.

On May 30th the Dickens' left Montreal for New York, now eager to get home, and embarked on the sailing ship the *George Washington* on June 7th. He had chosen to return across the Atlantic under sail because of his fear of fire at sea and the terrible crossing by steam ship on the way out. They arrived back in London on July 1st and *American Notes for General Circulation* was published on October 18th. A preface he had written for it was suppressed because Forster and some of his other friends thought it would give offence to Americans. In the event, the press of the United States was mightily offended anyway, the *New York Herald* referring to Dickens' mind as "most coarse, vulgar, impudent and superficial". The book had enormous sales in America, but, of course, all the editions were pirated ones, an irony not lost on its author. The legislation he campaigned so vociferously for did not become law until 1891 and even then was watered down. By then Dickens was long past caring about such mundane matters.

Chapter the Second

DICKENS AND HIS PUBLISHERS

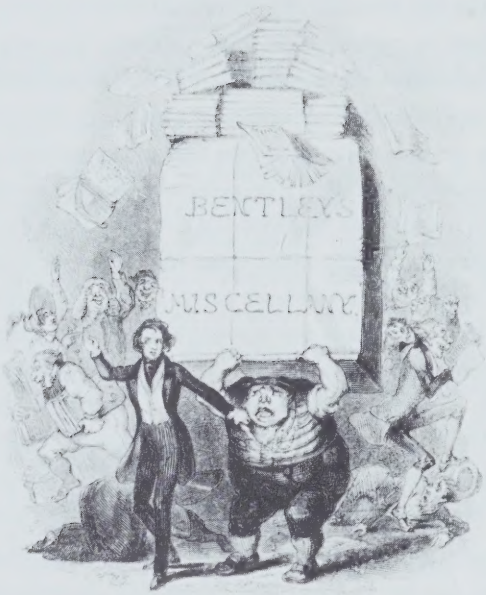
IT is interesting to note that from 1836 to 1870 Dickens had only four publishers for his books. For a major writer during the Victorian age this modest number would indicate a certain business stability (Trollope, for instance, had seventeen different publishers between 1847 and 1882), but the number does not reveal the complexity of Dickens' relationships with John Macrone, Richard Bentley, Chapman and Hall, and Bradbury and Evans. Dickens was an astute and hard-nosed businessman with a living to earn and many family responsibilities. He also liked making money and, after his large share of the profits from *Dombey and Son* began to accumulate in 1847, he made a very good living indeed. The enormous sales of his novels gave him enough power to dictate terms and break contracts. The "Please, Sir, I want some more" of *Oliver Twist* in 1838 had become the "Sir, I want more" of the 1850s. When Thackeray's copyrights were earning him six hundred pounds a year and Trollope made four hundred pounds each for *Doctor Thorne* and *The Bertrams*, Dickens made more than eleven thousand pounds for *Little Dorrit* alone. The publishers, of course, made money too. Chapman and Hall's profits on the parts issue of *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club* alone were fourteen thousand pounds, while Dickens was initially paid just over fourteen pounds per monthly part, rising to twenty-one pounds with Number III. In March 1837 he was given a bonus of five hundred pounds and in August the publishers agreed to pay him two thousand pounds for the rights to *Pickwick*. In exchange Dickens agreed to write a new novel for them. He was by then in a commanding position and the subsequent history of his relationships with his publishers is the history of his continual attempts to drive better bargains with them.

Throughout the nineteenth century several systems of payments to authors existed and Dickens participated in most of them. The oldest was outright sale for a fixed sum. John Macrone, who had established his business in September 1834,

met Dickens in the summer of 1835. He was probably familiar with the sketches that had appeared in the *Monthly Magazine* and other journals, and his offer of one hundred pounds to collect them into volumes was eagerly seized on by Dickens. Crucial, of course, to the venture was the recruitment of Cruikshank as illustrator, but it represented a considerable gamble by the publisher, a gamble that paid off when the two volumes of the first series appeared in February 1836 to critical and commercial acclaim. The agreement for the second series specified that Dickens would receive one hundred and fifty pounds, a fifty percent increase but still an outright sale. At the same time, May 1836, he signed an agreement with Macrone to write a three-volume novel, called *Gabriel Vardon*, for two hundred pounds. This agreement was a modification of an outright sale, applying only to the first thousand copies. On copies sold above that number profits would be divided equally between author and publisher and thus Dickens avoided the risk and got to share in any possible bonanza. Of course he had to write it and by the time it appeared as *Barnaby Rudge* it was a different work; all Dickens' agreements with Macrone were long since dissolved and Macrone was dead.

In the meantime Dickens had signed agreements with Chapman and Hall to produce *Pickwick,* and in August 1836 concluded an agreement with Richard Bentley for yet another three-decker novel. With his other smaller commitments he was, by November 1836, involved in eight different publishing agreements, and, not too surprisingly, was falling behind. He finally ended his association with Macrone by selling him the copyright in both series of *Sketches* for one hundred pounds. Macrone, in turn, sold it to Chapman and Hall for two thousand pounds in June 1837. *Pickwick Papers* was by now a great success, selling over twenty thousand copies per number, and Chapman and Hall decided to issue *Sketches* in monthly parts as well, beginning in November 1837, on a shared profit arrangement. This scheme was not a success and neither party made much money.

Pickwick Papers was one of the more sensational publishing events of the nineteenth century and one with far-reaching implications, literary, economic, and sociological. For the first time new fiction was published in serial form, with illustrations, for a mass audience, a form that would dominate the market for thirty years. It also marked the change from a petty-commodity mode of production for books, exemplified by *Sketches by "Boz"*, to the "commodity-text" production of the newly emerged industrial capitalism, with a professional



Extraordinary Gazette.

SPEECH OF HIS MIGHTINESS

ON OPENING THE SECOND NUMBER

OF

BENTLEY'S MISCELLANY,

EDITED BY "BOZ."

On Wednesday, the first of February, "the House" (of Bentley) met for the despatch of business, in pursuance of the Proclamation inserted by authority in all the Morning, Evening, and Weekly Papers, appointing that day for the publication of the Second Number of the Miscellany, edited by "Boz."

A caricature of Dickens as editor by Hablot K. Browne from *Bentley's Miscellany* no. III, March 1 1837

author and professional publishers exploiting the technological advances in printing, paper-making and illustration for a mass audience they helped to create and to which they responded.

Edward Chapman and William Hall became partners as booksellers in 1830 and also entered the weekly and monthly periodical trade. Their first book was published in 1834 and early in 1836 Hall approached Dickens to provide the text to accompany Robert Seymour's illustrations for a monthly series of sporting adventures. One thousand copies of the first number were printed but only four hundred sold and the print-run for Part II was only five hundred. After Seymour's death and the engagement of Browne, Dickens assumed control of the venture and sales rose rapidly with the publication of Part IV, culminating in forty thousand copies for the last number. The success of *Pickwick Papers* necessitated new contractual arrangements and in November 1837, at the conclusion of the parts publication, Chapman and Hall, in a complex agreement, in effect gave Dickens one-third of the interest in *Pickwick* after five years, which he then leased back to them. He was now intimately entangled in the business affairs of his publishers. Chapman and Hall were liberal in their terms because they wished Dickens to write another blockbuster novel for them. There was one small problem, however: in August 1836 Dickens had agreed to produce two three-decker novels for Bentley and in November he became the editor of the *Wit's Miscellany* (later *Bentley's Miscellany*).

Dickens' relationship with Richard Bentley followed a pattern similar to that with John Macrone. It began with optimism, descended to rankling disagreements, and ended in total rupture. Bentley (1794-1871) had begun business as a printer, with his brother Samuel, in 1819 and, after a brief partnership with Henry Colburn, became an independent publisher in 1832. He was very successful and his firm lasted until the end of the century. Bentley's offices were in New Burlington Street and, after their agreements went awry, Dickens referred to him as "the Burlington Street Brigand". Their first area of friction concerned the editorship of the *Miscellany*, in which Dickens felt Bentley interfered, and he resigned in January 1839. The real source of trouble, however, was the book contracts. *Oliver Twist,* the only major book of Dickens that Bentley published, was appearing monthly in the *Miscellany* and, with Cruikshank's plates, was selling very well. Dickens wished to count it as one of the two novels for which he had been promised five hundred pounds each, but Bentley objected. This

disagreement was resolved in Dickens' favour but he was still not satisfied. Bentley had advertised the second novel, *Barnaby Rudge*, in December 1839 as "preparing for publication" and Dickens was furious. After an acrimonious exchange of letters, the ninth and last contract between Bentley and Dickens was signed in July 1840. In it Dickens bought back *Oliver Twist* and any other claims Bentley might have on his writings. Chapman and Hall agreed to deduct two thousand two hundred and fifty pounds from the three thousand they were paying him for *Barnaby Rudge* in numbers and a six-month lease of the book rights. All Dickens' publication agreements now rested with Chapman and Hall, "the best of booksellers past, present, or to come" as he referred to them at the time.

In these protracted negotiations Dickens was represented by a man of his own age whom he had met in 1836 and whose reputation was to be closely tied to his own, John Forster. Literary agents, who represented authors in their negotiations with publishers, did not appear until the late Victorian period but Forster provided precisely this service for Dickens throughout most of his career. He was also his editor, proof-reader and critic and, after Dickens' death, wrote the biography to which all subsequent ones must refer.

Dickens' satisfaction with Chapman and Hall continued through *Nicholas Nickleby*, for which he received three thousand pounds and the complete reversion of the copyright after five years. *Nicholas Nickleby* was immensely successful and Dickens received an additional fifteen hundred pounds. His real negotiating strength, however, was his future prospects and so, when he proposed weekly serialized fiction, in the form of *Master Humphrey's Clock*, Chapman and Hall agreed to pay him a weekly salary, pay all the expenses, and share the profits equally. Initially it seemed as though the optimistic estimate that the *Clock* would bring in ten thousand pounds a year for Dickens might be fulfilled, but it was expensive to produce and sold unevenly and he had to settle for something like ten times less.

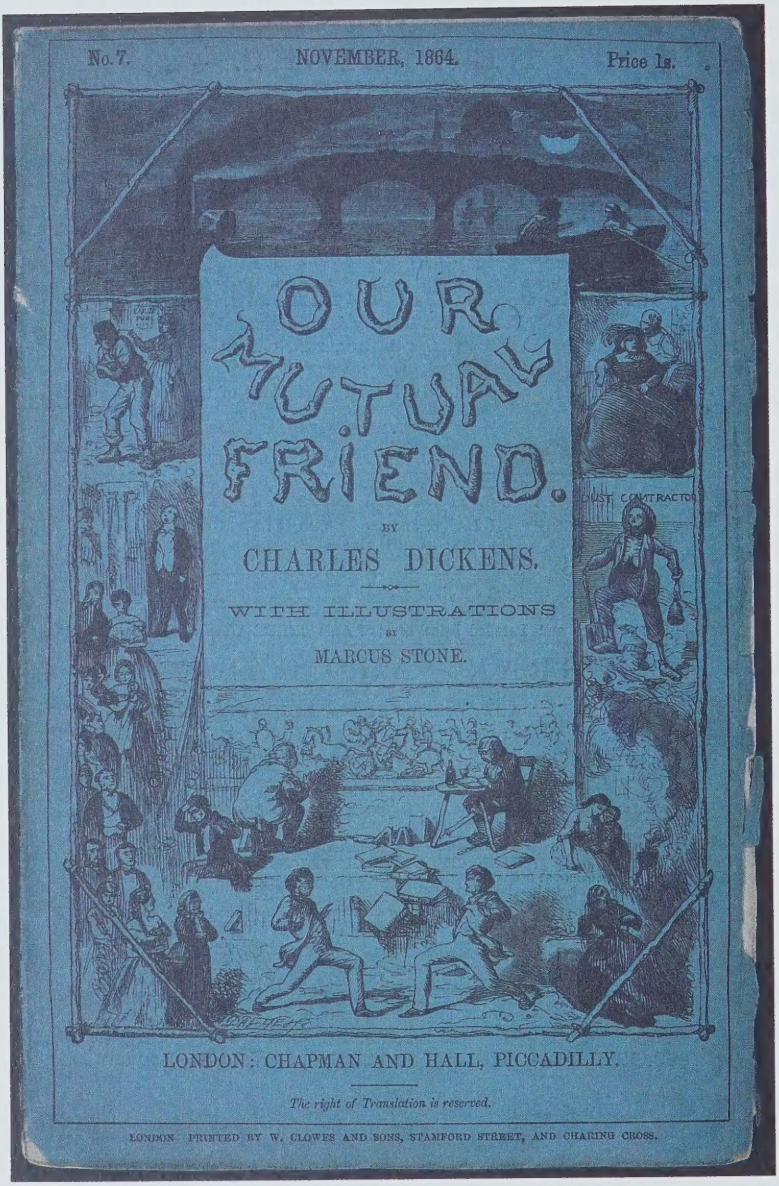
Dickens' agreement for *Martin Chuzzlewit* was very complex because he wished to finance a year off. He got an advance and loans which were to be repaid out of the profits, three-quarters of which were his. He had not begun to write the book and had decided to visit America. The resulting book, *American Notes,* sold well but was not subject to the same kind of contracts as it was non-fiction. *Chuzzlewit* did not sell well, partially due to a general economic

depression, and, when Chapman and Hall attempted to invoke a clause in the contract to reduce the monthly stipend, Dickens determined to sever his connection with "the best of booksellers".

He turned now to the printers of his books, Bradbury and Evans. William Bradbury and Frederick M. Evans had become partners in 1830 and had risen to become one of the more prominent printing firms in London. They had little experience with publishing, however, and proceeded cautiously. Dickens' final break with Chapman and Hall occurred when he made only one hundred and thirty pounds from *A Christmas Carol*, which had been published on commission, and for this he blamed the publisher. In June 1844 he signed an agreement with Bradbury and Evans by which they took over his debts from Chapman and Hall with the remaining stock of parts and books and paid him two thousand pounds. He assigned to them a quarter share of everything he would write for the next eight years, and then left for Italy. Over the next few years the Christmas Books and *Pictures From Italy* were published by Bradbury and Evans with profit for both parties, but not large ones.

Dickens' great breakthrough came with *Dombey and Son*. The first number had to be reprinted and sold thirty-two thousand copies. His share of profits, which included those from other Bradbury and Evans books, for the six months ending December 31st 1846 was over three thousand pounds and marked the beginning of his financial prosperity. Bradbury and Evans continued to publish Dickens' new books and advertised them vigorously. *David Copperfield*, which did less well than *Dombey and Son*, and *Bleak House*, which was much more successful and netted Dickens over ten thousand pounds, were published in 1850 and 1853 respectively. During the run of *Bleak House* the eight-year contract expired and was re-negotiated, with even more advantages for Dickens. He still had a three-quarter share of profits, but Bradbury and Evans would no longer charge their ten percent commission on gross sales and, significantly, Dickens had the right to withdraw from the agreement whenever he wished. *Hard Times*, having appeared in *Household Words*, sold modestly as a book, but *Little Dorrit* rivalled *Bleak House* in popularity and Dickens averaged almost six hundred pounds per number in profit.

Dickens had become involved again with Chapman and Hall through their reprint series of his works, the "Cheap", "Library", "People's" and "Charles Dickens" editions, all of which supplied him with a steady annual income.


No. 7. NOVEMBER, 1864. Price 1s.
OUR MUTUAL FRIEND.
BY
CHARLES DICKENS.
WITH ILLUSTRATIONS
BY
MARCUS STONE.
LONDON: CHAPMAN AND HALL, PICCADILLY.
The right of Translation is reserved.
LONDON: PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET, AND CHARING CROSS.

Wrapper of part 7 of *Our Mutual Friend*, designed by Marcus Stone and cut on wood by the Dalziel Brothers.

In 1858 Dickens decided to return to Chapman and Hall because *Punch* declined to print his letter justifying the break-up of his marriage and Bradbury and Evans published *Punch*. He began the process by winding up *Household Words* in May 1859 and Bradbury and Evans lost the ensuing court case. *All the Year Round* then came into being. He ran it himself, Chapman and Hall merely acting as his agents on commission and, of course, all the profits were his. He also arranged to buy Bradbury and Evans' one-quarter share in the books published by them and sold it to Chapman and Hall. Thereafter one-half of the profit on any of his books went to Chapman and Hall. Dickens began to publish *A Tale of Two Cities* in the first number of *All the Year Round* and it helped ensure the large circulation of the journal. It also came out as eight monthly parts, and as a book, and all these forms produced a profit. Similarly *Great Expectations* first appeared in the serial then as a three-decker bought mainly, it seems, by circulating libraries, and not producing as much profit. Serial publication in parts was not covered by Dickens' agreement with Chapman and Hall, and for *Our Mutual Friend* Dickens proposed that he sell half the copyright to the publisher for six thousand pounds. This involved real risk for Chapman but nevertheless he agreed (Hall by this time had died). His worst fears were realized as sales dropped off after starting strongly, and a half-share returned only about forty-six hundred pounds. Chapman, however, continued to maintain his faith, for when he was offered the rights to all the profits on the first twenty-five thousand copies of *Edwin Drood* for seventy-five hundred pounds, he accepted. The first number sold fifty thousand copies and continued to sell strongly until Dickens' death in June 1870. Whether Chapman ever recouped his investment in the book cannot now be determined, but he certainly recouped his investment in the reprinting of Dickens' works and perhaps that was part of his motivation.

Despite his well-publicized complaints about the pirating of his books in the United States and the lack of a universal copyright agreement, Dickens did have arrangements with American publishers and did make money from them. Carey, Lea, and Blanchard of Philadelphia first offered Dickens money in June of 1837 and paid him fifty pounds at the conclusion of their edition of *Pickwick*. In 1839 he sold them proofs of the *Curiosity Shop* and *Barnaby Rudge* and continued with this rather haphazard arrangement. By 1858 he was able to charge Thomas Coke Evans one thousand pounds for one year of *All the Year*

Round, Dickens to supply the stereo plates. Chapman was also able to sell successfully the cheap reprint editions of the books to American publishers. Dickens became very friendly with James T. Fields of Ticknor and Fields of Boston, and attempted in 1867 to appoint that firm his "only authorized representatives in America", but that only involved him in the controversy of competing American claims. Harpers did, however, pay one thousand pounds for advance proofs of *Edwin Drood.*

Dickens also had a long-standing arrangement with the entrepreneurial Bernhard Tauchnitz of Leipzig. In 1843 Tauchnitz sent a circular letter to selected English writers asking for their authority to reprint their books for sale in Europe. He reminded them that he had no legal obligation to offer payment but would do so in the interests of "a literary relationship between England and Germany". Dickens agreed to this and regularly sold early proofs to Tauchnitz, influenced perhaps by *Pickwick Papers* already having appeared as Number 2 in the Tauchnitz main series. In 1844 Tauchnitz paid five pounds, ten shillings for advance proofs of *Martin Chuzzlewit* and published it seven months before the London book issue and later, in 1856, paid thirty pounds for *Master Humphrey's Clock.* In 1843 proofs of *A Christmas Carol* were sent to Leipzig and it was issued as an "edition sanctioned by the author". It may have preceded the first English edition.

Thus Dickens used the different forms of publisher-author agreements existing in the nineteenth-century. He sold outright his first book and his last book. He used escalation clauses and time period clauses. He used division of profits and commission arrangements. He did not use the most common of modern arrangements, the royalty system based on sales. He was a thoroughly professional writer and a modern businessman; and the world was his market.

Chapter the Third

DICKENS AND HIS ILLUSTRATORS

ALMOST all of Dickens' books originally were published with illustrations (only *Hard Times* and *Great Expectations* of the novels were not illustrated in their first editions) and seventeen different artists worked for him. Throughout his whole career, the illustrated book was a staple of English publishing and all three of the basic reproduction processes — woodcuts, engraved and etched plates, and lithography — were used to enhance the appeal of books of all kinds. Indeed, during the first twenty-five years of the nineteenth century, a literary genre that largely depended on illustration for its popularity became prevalent: the humorous sketch in verse or prose. This type of book, best exemplified by the *Tours* of Dr. Syntax, written by William Combe and illustrated by Thomas Rowlandson, and Pierce Egan's *Life in London*, illustrated by George and Robert Cruikshank, was an important part of the literary tradition inherited by Dickens. His work both continued it and extended it.

When the publisher John Macrone suggested that Dickens' stories and sketches should be collected together from the periodicals in which they first appeared, he was motivated primarily by the opportunity to engage the services of George Cruikshank. In 1835 Cruikshank (1792-1878) was at the height of his long and illustrious career. He, not Dickens, chose the incidents from each story for illustrations, a freedom never extended again by the increasingly confident author. Cruikshank's twenty-eight small etchings were done on copper, afterwards coated with steel to prolong the life of the plate through many impressions. When Chapman and Hall took over the copyright to *Sketches By "Boz"* and re-isssued it both in parts and in a single volume between 1837 and 1840, Cruikshank redrew the illustrations in a larger size and created thirteen new ones, which were etched on steel. The only other book by Dickens illustrated by Cruikshank was *Oliver Twist*. This time Dickens made the selection of scenes in collaboration with Cruikshank and the result was what many consider to be Cruikshank's finest work. The author, however, was not satisfied (one plate had to be redone) and they never worked together again. Cruikshank grew increasingly embittered and, after Dickens' death, claimed in print to have been

the originator of *Oliver Twist*. His claim was refuted by John Forster in his *Life of Dickens* (1873-74).

For *Pickwick Papers* Chapman and Hall chose as an illustrator Robert Seymour (1798-1836), an artist known for his sporting prints, who had learned etching. The original scheme of *Pickwick Papers*, which required Dickens to write humorous prose pieces to accompany Seymour's illustrations, was quickly abandoned when Dickens took control and turned the series of sketches into a novel. At the same time he began to make suggestions for illustrations and criticize the results. After completing only seven etchings, and between the publication of the first and second numbers, Seymour committed suicide. His successor was Robert William Buss (1804-1875), a painter and illustrator who became well known for theatrical portraits and, after Dickens' death, painted the famous portrait of the author dreaming of his characters. Buss, however, had no experience of etching on steel and although two of his plates appeared in the third number, they were clearly unsatisfactory and in October 1836 he was replaced by Hablot K. Browne.

Dickens had now found an illustrator who suited both his style and his methods of composition. Browne (1815-1882), who soon adopted the pseudonym "Phiz" to match "Boz", was only twenty years old and unknown when he met Dickens. He was shy and unassuming but steady and reliable. Most importantly for Dickens he was pliable and adaptable; able to accept and adopt Dickens' suggestions and criticisms and to work to deadlines. The introduction of Sam Weller in the fourth number of *Pickwick Papers*, with Phiz's illustration of him brushing his boots, ensured the novel's success and he went on to supply two etchings for each of the remaining sixteen parts. He usually worked from verbal descriptions of scenes told to him by Dickens, and their close relationship of twenty-three years resulted in over four hundred illustrations for ten novels. After *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859) Dickens dropped Phiz in favour of younger, more modern artists. Browne was puzzled and hurt, exclaiming to his partner Robert Young: "Dickens probably thinks a new hand will give his old puppets a fresh look ... confound all authors and publishers, say I. There is no pleasing one or t'other. I wish I had never had anything to do with the lot." Yet it is Browne's images which are best remembered as a natural complement to Dickens' novels, particularly his caricatured figures of the major characters.

For *Master Humphrey's Clock*, the periodical which contains *The Old Curiosity Shop* and *Barnaby Rudge*, a different style of illustration was adopted and

'First appearance of Mr. Samuel Weller' by Hablot K. Browne from *Pickwick Papers*

George Cattermole was engaged to assist Phiz. The drawings were engraved on wood blocks by four craftsmen, including Samuel Williams (1788-1853) who also drew one illustration for *The Old Curiosity Shop*. These illustrations could be 'dropped into the text', that is they were printed together with the letter-press and thus tightened the relationship between the written and visual images.

George Cattermole (1800-1868), a painter and illustrator, was an old friend and distant relative of Dickens. He was entrusted with the architectural subjects in *Master Humphrey's Clock* and created wonderfully cluttered antiquarian scenes. He also drew the famous "death of Little Nell", after receiving a detailed description of the scene from Dickens. These approximately forty illustrations were, however, the only ones done by Cattermole for Dickens.

One illustration for *Master Humphrey's Clock* was prepared by Daniel Maclise, the Irish artist who was one of Dickens' closest friends. Maclise (1806-1870), who had come to London at the age of sixteen was, by the time Dickens met him in 1838, already famous as a painter of historical subjects. He was one of the group of artists who worked on the Christmas Books, contributing fanciful illustrations to *The Chimes*, *The Cricket on the Hearth*, and *The Battle of Life*. Dickens' last public speech, at the Royal Academy dinner in April 1870, contained a eulogy of Maclise, who had recently died; "in wit a man, in simplicity a child".

John Leech (1817-1864) scored his first great success as an illustrator with *The Ingoldsby Legends* in 1840 and joined the staff of *Punch* shortly afterwards. He had unsuccessfully sought the job of illustrating *Pickwick Papers* after the death of Seymour but had to wait until 1843 when Dickens commissioned him to illustrate *A Christmas Carol*. He seized the opportunity and his four hand-coloured etchings and four wood-engraved vignettes perfectly capture the spirit of the text. It remains his best-known book. He continued to contribute to the four other Christmas Books while making over three thousand drawings for *Punch*.

Richard (Dicky) Doyle (1824-1883) joined the team of Christmas Book artists in 1844 and contributed to *The Chimes, The Cricket on the Hearth,* and *The Battle of Life*. He also worked for *Punch* and designed its cover, but resigned in 1840 because of the magazine's anti-papal campaign. He later became as well-known for his political caricatures as his father John Doyle had been.

'Scrooge's third Visitor' by John Leech from *A Christmas Carol*

Sir John Tenniel (1820-1914) is now remembered almost entirely as the illustrator of *Alice in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass* but he had a very long and prolific career as a staff artist for *Punch* (over fifty years) and illustrated many other books as well. Among them was *The Haunted Man*, to which he contributed six illustrations. He does not, however, seem to have been a close friend of Dickens.

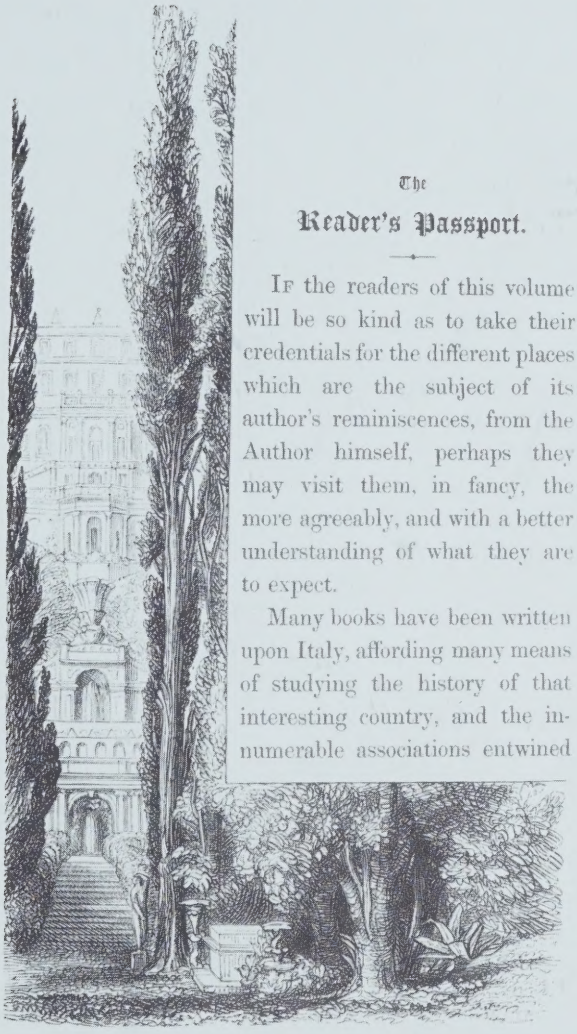
Clarkson Stanfield (1793-1867), a marine and landscape painter whom Dickens called "old Stanny", painted the scenery for Dickens' theatrical productions of *The Lighthouse* and *The Frozen Deep*. He also contributed a total of nine illustrations to four of the five Christmas Books. He had agreed to illustrate *Pictures From Italy* in 1846 but, as a prominent English Catholic, resigned from the project after reading some of the passages where Dickens satirizes Catholic devotional practices. Instead the commission was given to a little-known artist, Samuel Palmer.

Palmer (1805-1881) painted poetical landscapes in the tradition of Turner and was much influenced by Blake. His posthumous fame as an etcher rests primarily on his illustrations for Virgil's *Eclogues* (1883) and Milton's *Shorter Poems* (1889). For *Pictures From Italy* Palmer designed four illustrations which were reproduced as woodcuts and enhance the appeal of the book considerably.

Frank Stone (1800-1859), a painter, was a close friend of Dickens and painted portraits of several of his children. He made three drawings for *The Haunted Man* in 1848 and also introduced Dickens to his son Marcus Stone (1840-1921). After Frank Stone's death Dickens undertook to find commissions for Marcus among his literary friends and arranged for him to provide illustrations for several volumes of the Library Edition of his *Works*. In 1864 Stone was invited to illustrate *Our Mutual Friend* and provided twenty drawings which were engraved on wood by the Dalziel Brothers and E.T. Green. They provided the "new look" which Dickens wanted but have not been considered very successful by posterity.

Sir Edwin Landseer (1802-1873), famous for his animal paintings and for the lions in Trafalgar Square, was an old friend of Dickens. He provided one illustration for a Dickens book, appropriately the dog Boxer in *The Cricket on the Hearth.*

Each of the three volumes of *A Child's History of England* contains a frontispiece designed by Francis W. Topham (1808-1877), a water-colour

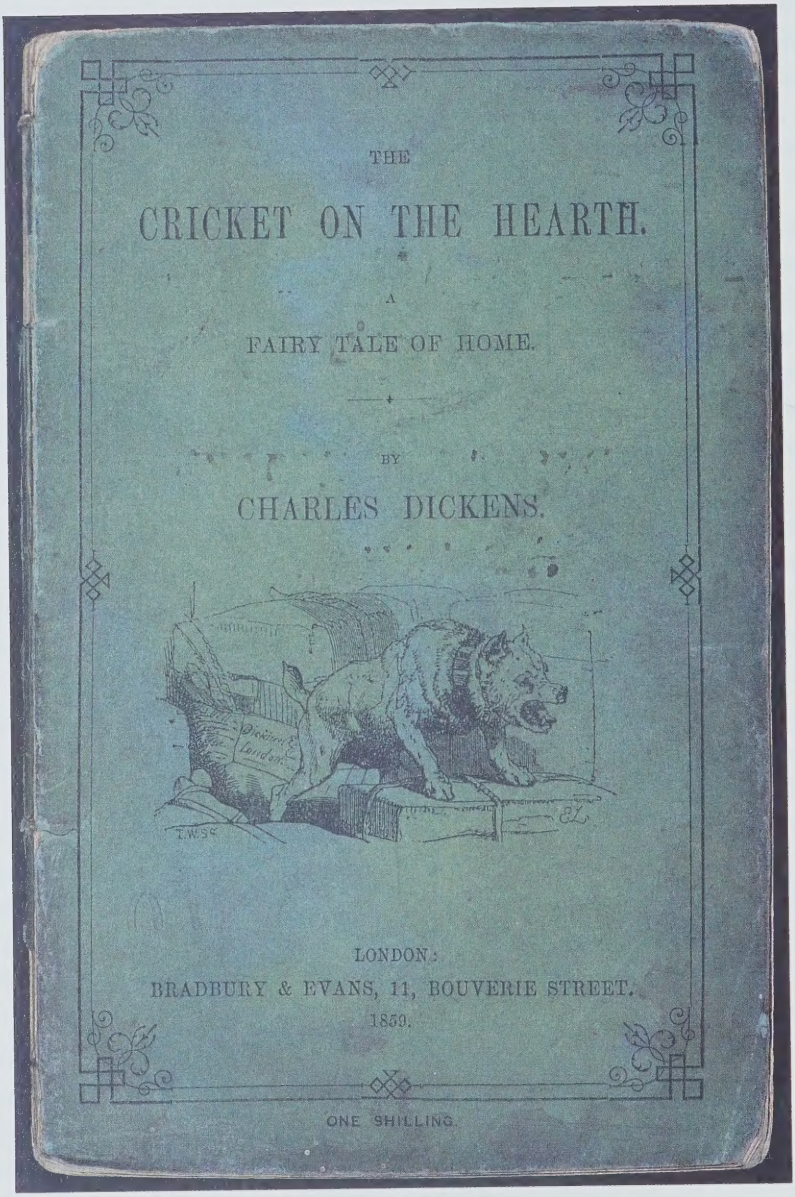


The Reader's Passport.

If the readers of this volume will be so kind as to take their credentials for the different places which are the subject of its author's reminiscences, from the Author himself, perhaps they may visit them, in fancy, the more agreeably, and with a better understanding of what they are to expect.

Many books have been written upon Italy, affording many means of studying the history of that interesting country, and the innumerable associations entwined

'The Villa D'Este at Tivoli from the Cypress Avenue' by Samuel Palmer from *Pictures from Italy*



A 'Cheap Edition' of *The Cricket on the Hearth* featuring Edwin Landseer's dog 'Boxer' on the wrapper.

painter and engraver who had taken part in Dickens' theatricals. They are now mainly remembered by collectors of Dickens because of the varying tints in their vignette borders.

Dickens had commissioned his son-in-law Charles Collins to illustrate his last novel, *Edwin Drood*, but Collins only managed to design the cover for the parts before his chronic ill health forced him to withdraw. Dickens then engaged the young Luke Fildes (1844-1927) who provided thirteen illustrations for the unfinished work. Fildes was later knighted and became very popular as a subject painter.

Many artists have illustrated Dickens' books since his death and it is customary to think of the illustrations as an integral part of his work. Even modern paperback editions of the novels retain illustrations. The two major un-illustrated novels, *Hard Times* and *Great Expectations*, soon had their deficiencies supplied. A wood-engraved frontispiece by A. Boyd Houghton was added for the 1865 Chapman and Hall edition of *Hard Times,* and Marcus Stone provided illustrations for the 1862 one-volume edition of *Great Expectations*. That Dickens' prose could provide inspiration for an artist is superbly demonstrated by *Pickwick Papers*, *Oliver Twist*, and *A Christmas Carol*. These texts were the vehicles through which the graphic work of Hablot Browne, George Cruikshank, and John Leech is best remembered by posterity.

Chapter the Fourth

MAJOR WORKS

SKETCHES BY "BOZ", ILLUSTRATIVE OF EVERY-DAY LIFE, AND EVERY-DAY PEOPLE

"the Author of these volumes throws them up as his pilot balloon"

WRITTEN during the latter half of 1833, "A Dinner at Poplar Walk" was submitted by Dickens to the *Monthly Magazine* and published in the December 1833 issue. It was his first appearance in print as a storyteller, and was followed by several more comic stories and descriptive essays in that journal and others, obtaining, as he phrased it, a "very favourable reception". In particular, the series "Sketches of London" for the *Evening Chronicle* both refers back to a long tradition of urban sketches and presages Dickens' fascination with the minutiae of London's street scenes. In the autumn of 1835 John Macrone, the young publisher of Harrison Ainsworth and other popular novelists, suggested to Dickens that he collect together the stories and sketches in volume form and offered him one hundred pounds for the copyright. As he had not been paid at all for the periodical appearances and since he was about to marry Catherine Hogarth he leapt at the chance. The first title for the three volumes, suggested by Macrone, was "Bubbles from the Bwain of Boz and the Graver of Cruikshank". This was rejected in favour of the more sober "Sketches by Boz", but the significant second name was retained on the title-page: "Illustrations by George Cruikshank".

George Cruikshank was forty-three years old in 1835 and at the height of a very long career. He was known as "Illustrious George" and his name on a title-page was practically a guarantee of success for a book. For such a commission as this, a book by an unknown author, Cruikshank would have presumed that most of the "sketches" would be of his own devising, produced at his own pace. Dickens, however, very quickly asserted his own authority, demanding the illustrations quickly and criticizing them. Cruikshank produced twenty-six etchings for the two series and received a very fulsome acknowledgement from Dickens in the introduction to the first edition: it was, however, replaced in later editions with a nominal mention.

The first edition of the first series of *Sketches* was published on February 8th 1836, with a second edition appearing on August 10th and a third on March 11th 1837. The second series appeared on December 17th 1836 (although dated 1837) and a second edition, with two additional plates by Cruikshank, on March 21st 1837. It was a resounding success and brought Dickens into contact with the publisher Chapman and Hall. After *Pickwick Papers* had begun to be published in parts, Chapman and Hall bought the copyright to *Sketches* and re-issued it in twenty monthly parts between November 1837 and June 1839 with a wrapper design and thirteen new illustrations by Cruikshank. This venture was not a success, few copies were sold, and these parts in their original state are now rare.

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS OF THE PICKWICK CLUB

"Wery glad to see you, indeed, and hope our acquaintance may be a long 'un, as the gen'l'm'n said to the fi'pun' note"

PICKWICK PAPERS began as a scheme by Chapman and Hall to publish in monthly parts the adventures of a group of Cockney sportsmen which would feature the illustrations of Robert Seymour. Dickens accepted the commission to provide the text but immediately began to alter the terms so that he would write each episode and Seymour would illustrate it, the exact opposite of the original intention. He also knew that the concept of "Cockney sportsmen" had been worked to death and so began afresh with the character of Mr. Pickwick, named after a Bath stagecoach proprietor. The first number was published on March 31st 1836, with four etchings by Seymour, in an edition of four hundred copies. It reflected the original conception only in its sub-title: "containing a faithful record of the Perambulations, Perils, Travels, Adventures and Sporting Transactions of the Corresponding Members" and was "Edited by 'Boz'". It made its way slowly into public popularity at first but with the invention of Sam Weller in the fourth part it took off and eventually reached a circulation of forty thousand copies by the time the twentieth part appeared in November 1837.

In the meantime Seymour had committed suicide, having produced only seven illustrations, and R.W. Buss was engaged. He provided two plates for the third number but was uncomfortable with the steel etching process and was fired. Dickens, now firmly in control, chose as Buss's successor the illustrator who became most closely associated with him, Hablot K. Browne, who signed

'Mr. Pickwick addresses the club' by Robert Seymour from *Pickwick Papers*

himself "Phiz" to complement Dickens' "Boz". He was a shy, compliant man, not so good an artist as Cruikshank, but able to adapt himself to the moods of Dickens' work, and the rest of the forty-three illustrations in *Pickwick* were all by him.

The great success of *Pickwick Papers*, which surprised Dickens and his publishers, established a new form of journalistic fiction which was able to adopt from month-to-month a great range of subjects. Dickens could expound his favourite themes of poverty and death in London, peace and prosperity in the countryside, always maintaining a light, and often comic, tone. He felt, as he said in his letters, in touch with his audience. He and his publisher had also established a new form for the publication of fiction, for although fiction had previously appeared in parts, it was normally in reprint. Now new fiction, with its suspense held from month to month, was acceptable to the reading public and the "parts issue" of novels persisted for some decades.

The publication of the parts of *Pickwick Papers* was interrupted for one month, in June 1837. On May 7th Mary Hogarth, his sister-in-law, died suddenly at the age of seventeen and Dickens was prostrated with grief. He kept her clothes and expressed a desire to be buried beside her; she remained an ideal of female purity and innocence. The interrupted *Pickwick Papers*, however, continued with an explanation in the July number.

A complete first edition of *Pickwick Papers* in parts is a difficult challenge for a collector. Early numbers were re-issued several times and the plates were re-etched, Buss's two illustrations replaced by two of Browne's. The advertisements were changed from issue to issue, many being removed entirely when the parts were bound up into volumes and the "perfect Pickwick", although delineated in minute detail in Hatton and Cleaver's bibliography, is elusive. The first edition in book form was published on November 17th 1837 and it has been in print ever since.

OLIVER TWIST, OR, THE PARISH BOY'S PROGRESS

"Please, Sir, I want some more"

IN November 1836 Dickens signed a contract with the publisher Richard Bentley to edit *Bentley's Miscellany*, a monthly magazine. He had already agreed to supply Bentley with two three-volume novels and still had an obligation to

John Macrone, his first publisher. He was also, of course, in the midst of writing *Pickwick* for Chapman and Hall. The official illustrator of *Bentley's Miscellany* was George Cruikshank, who was, much later, to claim that the original idea for *Oliver Twist* had been his.

The second number of *Bentley's Miscellany* (February 1837) contained a sketch called "Oliver Twist", which featured a poor boy raised in a workhouse and almost immediately the theme of the "Parish Boy's progress" caught his imagination and turned a series of sketches into a novel. It is the first English novel with a child as its hero. It is also a polemical novel with its early chapters containing Dickens' strong reaction to the Poor Law Amendment Act, passed three years earlier, and his intense descriptions of the slums of Field Lane.

Oliver Twist appeared in installments in *Bentley's Miscellany* from February 1837 through April 1839, with three brief interruptions. The three-volume "first edition" was published on November 9th 1838; this unusual procedure was caused by one of Dickens' quarrels with Bentley when he insisted that it constituted one of the two novels owed to the publisher. There are two issues of the first edition: the "Boz" issue with the final "Fireside" Cruikshank plate and the "Charles Dickens" issue with a new Cruikshank illustration called the "Church" plate. Dickens had requested these changes at the last minute and the new issue was ready on November 16th. The "second edition" of *Oliver Twist* is dated 1839, although published on December 17th 1838, and there are two further Bentley editions in 1839 and 1840. The "third edition" of 1841 was published by Chapman and Hall, Dickens having bought back the copyright from Bentley in 1840, but it consists of the 1840 Bentley sheets. In 1846 a new edition of *Oliver Twist*, revised by Dickens, was published in ten monthly parts by Bradbury & Evans.

The Cruikshank etchings in *Oliver Twist*, which Dickens apparently did not like, are among that artist's most memorable images. Oliver "asking for more", the Artful Dodger picking the pocket of the book-collector, Bill Sykes on the roof-tops and, most especially, Fagin in the condemned cell, resembling in an uncanny way Cruikshank himself, have all been much reproduced. They certainly contributed to the novel's initial success and influence. The young Queen Victoria found it "excessively interesting" and there were six dramatic interpretations of *Oliver Twist* in 1838 alone.

'Fagin in the condemned Cell' by George Cruikshank from *Oliver Twist*

THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF NICHOLAS NICKLEBY

"Terms, twenty guineas per annum. No extras, no vacations, and diet unparalleled"

EARLY in 1838 Dickens travelled to Yorkshire with his illustrator Hablot Browne. Although it was a short trip Dickens had a definite purpose; he wished to write a fictional exposé of the Yorkshire schools, notorious for their harsh treatment of unwanted children. He pretended to be the friend of a widowed mother who wished to place her child in such a school and he met William Shaw and viewed his academy. The result of the trip was that he was able to begin writing *Nicholas Nickleby* while still only half-way through *Oliver Twist*. The first number appeared in April 1838, from Chapman and Hall, and it finished with the standard double number (19/20) in October 1839. The book form was published on October 23rd 1839.

Nicholas Nickleby provoked a considerable response; there were threats of several writs for libel from Yorkshire schoolmasters, most notably from William Shaw and his wife, whom the Squeers closely resembled. Many of the characters in *Nicholas Nickleby* are apparently based on real people and indeed, in the preface Dickens assured his readers that "the Brothers Cheeryble live". His description of Dotheboys Hall apparently resulted in a strong reaction against such schools, causing many to close, and in 1864 a school commissioner reported that he was unable to find an example of a Yorkshire school "with which Dickens has made us familiar". This effect would clearly have pleased Dickens as it was one of his primary purposes and with *Nicholas Nickleby* he emerges as a confident novelist who realizes his influence.

The first number of *Nicholas Nickleby* sold fifty thousand copies and continued to be very popular. The thirty-nine illustrations for it were prepared by Phiz, who had to etch as many as four plates for each because of the large press run. There are, therefore, a good many "states" of the illustrations. The book edition has a romantic-looking frontispiece portrait of Dickens, engraved by William Finden after a painting by Daniel Maclise.

MASTER HUMPHREY'S CLOCK

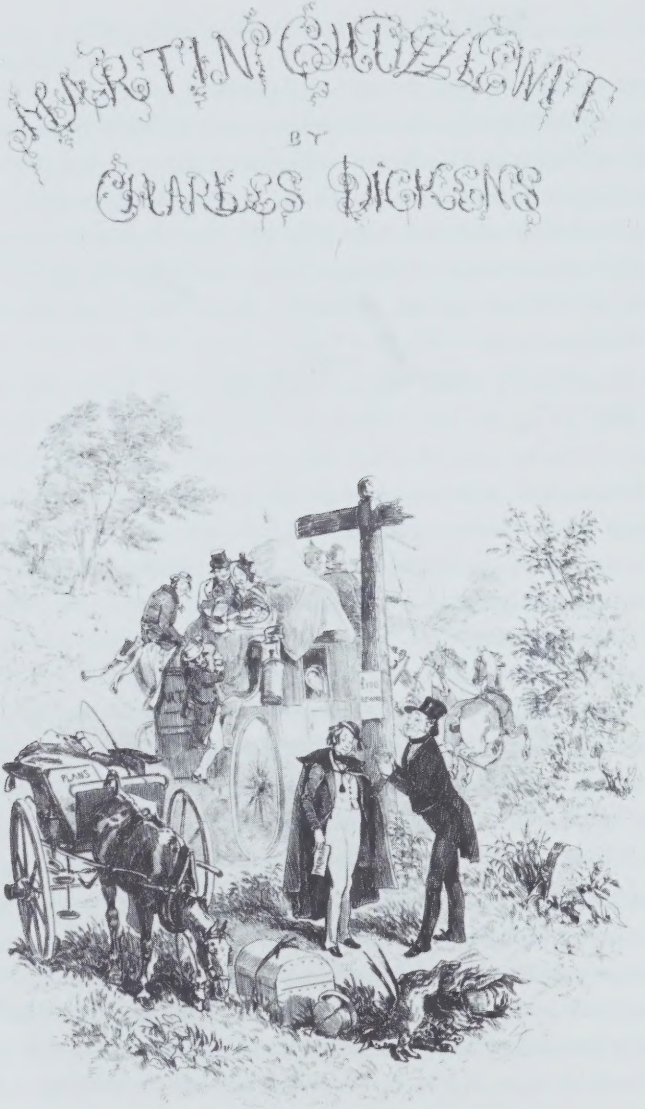
"Polly put the kettle on, we'll all have tea"

IN 1839 Dickens began to plan a periodical which he would edit and completely control. He wished to model it on the eighteenth-century examples of Addison and Steele and Goldsmith, which he enjoyed reading. He also wished to receive a regular income as an editor. He proposed *Master Humphrey's Clock* to Chapman and Hall and they agreed to pay him a weekly salary, cover the expenses of the journal, and most importantly, share equally all the profits with him. In this, as in all subsequent publishing transactions, he displayed his acute Victorian business sense.

Master Humphrey's Clock began publication on April 4th 1840 with a short tale told by an old man about the London of long ago and continued with the series that became *The Old Curiosity Shop*. It was a weekly that ran for eighty-eight numbers, until November 27th 1841. Every four or five weeks the text portions were gathered together and distributed as monthly parts and there are twenty of these, running from April 1840 to November 1841. The three-decker novel was published in sequence: volume I, October 15th 1840; volume II, April 12th 1841; and volume III, December 14th 1841. The two novels it contains, *The Old Curiosity Shop* and *Barnaby Rudge* were then published separately on December 15th 1841. They had received maximum exposure, for the first number sold seventy thousand copies, which then dropped suddenly to fifty thousand, the sales being resuscitated by the introduction of Little Nell in the fourth number. By the time her trials and tribulations were completed, *Master Humphrey's Clock* was selling one hundred thousand copies per issue.

The Old Curiosity Shop was written largely at Broadstairs where the Dickens family often went on holiday. A holiday for Dickens did not mean he stopped working entirely, for his routine at this time was to write from eight-thirty in the morning until two in the afternoon. *The Old Curiosity Shop* went steadily forward until January 1841 when the death of Little Nell reduced both Dickens and the nation to floods of tears. It was, however, a tearful novel, it being estimated that someone weeps approximately every ten pages.

Immediately after *The Old Curiosity Shop* had ended, *Barnaby Rudge* began to appear, as Dickens had discovered that the surest way to maintain circulation was with a serialized story. *Barnaby Rudge* had first been promised to John



Title page from *Martin Chuzzlewit* by Hablot K. Browne

Macrone in 1836 and Dickens had received an advance of two hundred pounds. It was next contracted to Richard Bentley, but after many delays, the contract was cancelled when Chapman and Hall enabled him to buy out his copyrights from Bentley. Two chapters had, in fact, been written, and the others followed quickly as he was able to compress his observations from the streets and prisons of London into vivid historical scenes. *Barnaby Rudge* was not, however, as popular as *The Old Curiosity Shop* and sales of *Master Humphrey's Clock* fell to thirty thousand a week.

Master Humphrey's Clock was illustrated in a different, and more expensive, manner than the previous novels. Phiz and George Cattermole prepared the illustrations which were then engraved or cut on wood-blocks by a series of craftsmen. This meant that the illustrations could be integrated with the text rather than being on separate plates. There were almost two hundred illustrations in the complete set, and Phiz also created a series of figurative initials.

THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF MARTIN CHUZZLEWIT

"Gamp is my name, and Gamp my nater"

DICKENS returned from America in late June 1842 and his *American Notes* was published on October 19th. He then turned his attention to a new novel, promised as a three-decker to Chapman and Hall. Its complete title: *The Life and Adventures of Martin Chuzzlewit, His Relatives, Friends and Enemies. Comprising All His Wills and His Ways, With an Historic Record of What He Did, and What He Didn't; showing, Moreover, Who Inherited the Family Plate, Who came in For the Silver Spoons, and Who For the Wooden Ladles, The Whole Forming a Complete Key to the House of Chuzzlewit. Edited by "Boz"* expresses something of its scope; a family saga about, as Dickens said, "selfishness". He was very pleased with it, a judgement with which posterity concurs, but his public was not. He had reverted to the old form of publication in monthly parts and the January 1843 number only sold twenty thousand copies. In an effort to gain more public attention, his hero Martin was sent on a trip to the United States and some of Dickens' funniest passages were written at the expense of the Americans who had been so outraged over his descriptions in *American Notes*. Sales improved slightly but by the time the final double

number appeared in July 1844, together with the book form, *Chuzzlewit* was considered commercially a relative failure.

William Hall had suggested the use of a clause in the contract that would reduce the monthly payment if the advance was not being paid off quickly enough. This move so infuriated Dickens that he began negotiations, through John Forster, with Bradbury and Evans, the printing firm. By mid-1844 he had severed his connection with Chapman and Hall (although they had published *A Christmas Carol* in December 1843 and would publish *The Chimes* in late 1844, but on a commission basis) and it was not resumed for his major works until 1858.

The method of illustration for *Martin Chuzzlewit* also reverted to the old style. Hablot Browne designed the forty images and they were etched for insertion in the parts. Because a large sale was anticipated duplicate and triplicate plates were made, resulting in different states.

PICTURES FROM ITALY

"Magnificently stern and sombre are the streets of beautiful Florence"

ON July 2nd 1844 the Dickens family, a party of twelve including the servants, embarked from Dover en route to Genoa. Dickens' finances were at a low ebb and that, combined with the pressure of trying to complete *Martin Chuzzlewit*, determined him to "escape" from England for a year. His house on Devonshire Terrace was rented out and, in turn, he rented a large house in a suburb of Genoa. From there he was able to travel to Rome, Florence, Naples, Pisa, Verona, Venice and other Italian cities, all of which he described in long letters to his friends, particularly John Forster. The letters provided the basis for a series of articles called "Travelling Letters Written on the Road", which were published in *The Daily News*, the newspaper edited by Dickens, from January 21st to March 11th 1846. These eight sketches were reprinted in *The Eclectic Magazine* and six new ones were added to the series. The book, now called *Pictures From Italy*, and with further additions, was published on May 18th 1846.

The verbal sketches in *Pictures From Italy* are impressionistic, giving vivid descriptions of what caught Dickens' eye, but not analytical. He was impressed

by the beauty of the countryside but also described the filth and noise of the cities. His comments on the practices of Roman Catholicism were so stringent and satirical that his friend, the artist Clarkson Stanfield, refused to do the illustrations for the book. Instead four drawings were commissioned from Samuel Palmer and appear as woodcut plates.

Dealings With the Firm of Dombey and Son

"To think that Dombey and Son should be a Daughter after all"

IN May 1846 Dickens and his family moved to Lausanne. They had spent a year, from July 1844 to June 1845, in Genoa and he had written *Pictures From Italy* and two Christmas books, but it was two years since a novel had appeared. *Dombey and Son* is a novel of commerce ("Wholesale, Retail and for Exportation") imbued with a religious spirit and containing a good deal of sentiment. The death of Paul Dombey seems to have had much the same effect on readers as the death of Little Nell. The first number of the parts issue appeared in October published by Bradbury and Evans and, because of his more advantageous publishing agreement, Dickens was pleased by the sale of twenty-five thousand copies.

The family moved on to Paris in November and back to London in the new year. Dickens continued to write *Dombey and Son* while engaging in a series of amateur theatrical ventures and involving himself in the "ragged schools" movement and many of the philanthropic schemes of Baroness Burdett-Coutts. The final number was published in April 1848, by which time its circulation had reached some thirty-five thousand.

Once again Phiz provided forty illustrations, two plates being made of each etching. *Dombey and Son* was the first book to include one of the so-called "dark plates", produced by using a ruling machine in conjunction with the etched lines on the plate to produce a tinted effect that resulted in a greater contrast than usual between black and white areas. He used it extensively after the success of this initial experiment with "On the Dark Road".

THE PERSONAL HISTORY OF DAVID COPPERFIELD

"Whether I shall turn out to be the hero of my life, or whether that station will be held by anybody else, these pages must show"

DICKENS began to write his semi-autobiographical novel in February 1849 at his London house on Devonshire Terrace. As usual, he had to have the title, main characters and the "central idea" firmly fixed before he commenced writing, and his notebooks reveal a series of seventeen versions of the title, ending with *The Copperfield Survey of the World as it Rolled. Being the Personal History, Adventures, Experience, and Observation, of Mr. David Copperfield the Younger of Blunderstone Rookery.* This was abbreviated slightly for the wrapper of the first monthly part but he added a sub-title, in parenthesis: "which He never meant to be Published on any Account". It appeared in May and the series continued until November 1850.

David Copperfield is set in Yarmouth as well as London and describes in detail scenes from Dickens' youth, especially the blacking factory and the debtors' prison. Although it is one of his most evocative works, containing the vivid characterizations of David, Little Em'ly, Steerforth, Barkis and Uriah Heep, it did not sell as well as he had hoped, averaging some twenty thousand copies per month. By the end of 1849 he had devised a new publishing scheme and announced that he would shortly begin editing a "weekly miscellany of general literature". Early in 1850 he hired a sub-editor, W.H. Wills, and engaged John Forster as a kind of manager. Bradbury and Evans agreed that Dickens should have a half share of the profits, with a quarter share for themselves and one eighth each for Wills and Forster. The first issue of *Household Words* appeared on March 30th 1850, "Conducted by Charles Dickens", as its cover announced, and sold for twopence. It was a successful venture with a circulation of around thirty-nine thousand, and in the first year Dickens earned an extra seventeen hundred pounds. He was to continue his lucrative editorial labours for the rest of his life.

Meanwhile he continued to write *David Copperfield.* Two proofs of each number were sent to him and one was sent on to Hablot Browne who prepared the illustrations. Because Dickens was often in London his working relationship with Phiz was much closer and he was happier with the finished etchings. Phiz produced one "dark plate" and twenty-one of the plates were set horizontally, a change in style. The book form was published on November 14th 1850.

'On the dark Road' by Hablot K. Browne from *Dombey and Son*

BLEAK HOUSE

"This is a London particular ... A fog, Miss"

IN 1851 Henry Mayhew published *London Labour and the London Poor* and Dickens began to write *Bleak House*. It seems likely that he supplemented his own observations of the London street scenes with Mayhew's terrible accounts of poverty and oppression, particularly of children. The unfortunate and illiterate Jo, in fact, was much like the crossing sweeps mentioned by Mayhew. Dickens was, of course, still "conducting" *Household Words* and in it had appeared a series of articles on the abuses of the Chancery Courts. These suggested to him another theme for his new novel. With *Bleak House* he abandoned the long descriptive titles of his previous works; 1851 was also the year of the Great Exhibition and Englishmen were inclined to be in a self-congratulatory mood as they contemplated the glories of the Empire and commercial prosperity. *Bleak House*, however, propounded Dickens' view that 1851 was also a year of ignorance, poverty, disease and crime.

The family was now ensconced in Tavistock House and from his newly renovated study emerged the first monthly part in March 1852. The second number introduced the character of Harold Skimpole, whose first name had been hurriedly changed from Leonard, and soon all literary London knew that this irresponsible and unattractive character bore a close resemblance to Dickens' old friend Leigh Hunt. Dickens defended his characterization, and did not alter it, as he also defended his gruesome description of the spontaneous combustion of Krook which left behind a "thick yellow liquor" and some ashes. A considerable scientific debate raged over the possibility of this unlikely event and although Dickens claimed to have researched the question thoroughly, he seems to have copied the description from an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

Bleak House sold well in parts, averaging over thirty thousand copies through the final number in September 1853, when it was also published as a book. In keeping with its sombre mood, ten of the forty illustrations by Browne are "dark plates" which depict very effectively the London slums. Two etchings of each plate were made, but some were also reproduced by lithographic transfer.

Bleak House also contained more advertisements than the previous novels due to the aggressive promotional campaign of Bradbury and Evans and a considerable array of Victorian manufacturers lined up to buy space. Everything

from Rowland's Macassar Oil to Heal and Son's Bedsteads were advertised, often providing an ironic commentary on the contents of a particular number.

HARD TIMES. FOR THESE TIMES

"Now, what I want is, Facts"

IN January 1854 an examination of the *Household Words* accounts revealed that sales had fallen off alarmingly and so had Dickens' income. Bradbury and Evans suggested to him that a serialized novel might rectify this and he began to write *Hard Times* at the pace of five printed pages per week. The name Mr. Gradgrind appears among his earliest notes and the theme of the novel began as an attack on what Dickens viewed as false education. It broadened to include the whole Victorian obsession with facts and statistics as it affected the conditions of workers, and he travelled to Preston to view for himself the strike of the weavers there. The previous Christmas, Dickens had read *A Christmas Carol* to a large audience of "working people" in Birmingham, with great success, and so the theme of the necessity of "fancy" in peoples' lives was also introduced.

Hard Times ran weekly in *Household Words* from April 1st 1854 through August 12th and appeared as a book on August 7th, where it was divided into three sections. It was of necessity written quickly and contains many inconsistencies. It does not seem to have increased the circulation of *Household Words* very much and neither in its serialized nor its book form was the added attraction of illustrations provided. It was topical and didactic and, appropriately, the book was dedicated to Thomas Carlyle, whom Dickens greatly admired.

LITTLE DORRIT

"There's milestones on the Dover Road!"

IN 1855 Dickens joined the Administrative Reform Association and spoke publicly on its behalf, specifically with regard to the conduct of the Crimean War. At the same time he began to plan a new novel, the title of which, *Nobody's Fault*, referred sarcastically to the bungling mis-management of the

war and the resulting loss of thousands of soldiers' lives. By the time he had finished writing the first number in May, it was clear to him that the girl Dorrit was to assume a prominent role, along with the abode of her family, the Marshalsea Prison, where Dickens' father had once been imprisoned for debt. Another personal episode from his life was also exploited in his treatment of Flora Finching, a thinly disguised portrait of Maria Beadnell, the object of his youthful passion now grown "toothless, fat, old and ugly".

The first number of *Little Dorrit* was published at the beginning of December amidst an extensive publicity campaign conducted by Bradbury and Evans who supposedly distributed three hundred thousand handbills. Dickens had now become a well-known public performer through his frequent readings of his works, and his name could be exploited in different ways. *Little Dorrit* was successful, the print run being increased to thirty-five thousand, and sold steadily until its final number in June 1857. The book was published on May 30th 1857 and his public was able to read in its entirety his most sustained attack on English society, much of it being written in France.

Browne prepared forty illustrations for *Little Dorrit*, eight of them "dark plates". Although *Little Dorrit* was a financial success for both publisher and author, and enabled Dickens to purchase Gad's Hill Place in 1856, it was the last of his books to be published by Bradbury and Evans. In 1858 Dickens separated from his wife Catherine and moved out of Tavistock House. He sought to justify his role in this very messy affair by writing a personal statement which was published in *The Times* and in *Household Words*. He also wished it to appear in *Punch* and severed his long-standing relationship with Mark Lemon, the editor, and Frederick Evans, one of the proprietors, because they did not publish it. In November negotiations began with Bradbury and Evans, conducted by Forster, to dissolve *Household Words* and his publishing agreements, for he was now determined to return to Chapman and Hall.

A Tale of Two Cities

"It was the best of times, it was the worst of times"

HOUSEHOLD WORDS was bought out by Dickens at an auction ordered by the court in early 1849 and then merged with his new periodical *All the Year Round* which had begun publication in April, with a Chapman and Hall imprint but, in fact, owned and edited by Dickens. It closely resembled

its predecessor and many of the same authors contributed to it, although there was now a greater emphasis on serialized fiction. Wilkie Collins' *The Moonstone* and *The Woman in White* were among the novels first published in *All the Year Round*. The new journal, which began with the first episode of *A Tale of Two Cities*, proved more popular than *Household Words* had ever been and each weekly number never sold less than one hundred thousand copies.

A Tale of Two Cities was set during the French Revolution and was based on a number of sources. Its main inspiration, however, was Carlyle's *The French Revolution*, published in 1837, and greatly admired by Dickens. The weekly installments, which ran until November 26th 1859, were supplemented by eight monthly parts of the novel, from June to December. Although the first monthly number sold thirty thousand copies, sales declined drastically and Dickens never repeated this publishing experiment. He did, however, arrange to have stereo plates of *All the Year Round* sent to the United States for publication there and Harper and Brothers received proof sheets.

A Tale of Two Cities was published in book form by Chapman and Hall on November 21st 1859, with sixteen illustrations by Browne. No duplicate plates were made and because of the large press run many of the impressions were weak. These were the last illustrations he was to do for Dickens, the end of a working relationship that had lasted twenty-three years and encompassed ten novels.

A Tale of Two Cities contains some of the most dramatic scenes in Dickens' fiction and was quickly adapted for the stage by Tom Taylor and performed at the Lyceum Theatre. Sydney Carton proved to be a marvellous stage character and Dickens himself participated actively in the rehearsals.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS

> *"Further, that it is the desire of the present possessor of that property, that he be immediately removed from his present sphere of life and from this place, and be brought up as a gentleman — in a word, as a young fellow of great expectations"*

GREAT EXPECTATIONS was planned, in September 1860, to be published in the usual twenty numbers. This was changed because of the declining sales of *All the Year Round*, due to the unpopularity of Charles Lever's

'Bibliomania of the Golden Dustman' by Marcus Stone from *Our Mutual Friend*

A Day's Ride : A Life's Romance which was then appearing. In early October Dickens started to work on the novel so that it would fit into the weekly serial format, the first episode appearing on December 1st, and it continued for thirty-six weeks until August 3rd 1861. The three-decker appeared on July 6th and has become, in its first edition, first impression form, the rarest of Dickens' books. There are five issues (or, perhaps, impressions from stereo plates) all dated 1861 and called "editions". It is thought that most copies of the first two issues (1000 and 750) were bought up by circulating libraries, mainly Mudie's, and thus were literally read to death, which would would explain their rarity.

Dickens referred to the theme of *Great Expectations* as "a very fine, new, and grotesque idea" and the relationship between Pip and Magwitch certainly has its grotesque elements. The novel also, however, marks a return to the kind of humour readers of his early novels expected and *Great Expectations* became very popular. Its ending, as originally written, had no reconciliation between Pip and Estella, but after Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton had read the proofs, he persuaded Dickens to re-write the ending to render it more compassionate for his readers. *Great Expectations*, like *David Copperfield*, contains many autobiographical elements.

Great Expectations was not illustrated in its first edition. Marcus Stone was commissioned to provide woodcuts for the Library Edition in 1866.

Our Mutual Friend

"He'd be sharper than a serpent's tooth, if he wasn't as dull as ditch water"

DICKENS began work on his first long novel for seven years by fixing the terms with Chapman and Hall in the autumn of 1863; six thousand pounds for half the copyright. He had been contemplating *Our Mutual Friend* (the phrase previously occurs in *Little Dorrit*) for some time and now worked steadily, but more slowly, on it through the first few months of 1864. The first number appeared in May and sold some thirty-five thousand copies. Its popularity did not hold up, however, and by the time the final double number was published in November 1865 sales had declined to nineteen thousand.

In June 1865 Dickens was travelling back to London from France with Ellen Ternan (the mystery woman of his life) and her mother, carrying in his overcoat

pocket the almost completed manuscript of *Our Mutual Friend*. Their train was involved in the terrible "Staplehurst accident", in which several people died, and in which Dickens played a heroic rescuing role. His nerves were steady enough to retrieve the manuscript from a carriage dangling from a railway bridge but the delayed shock of the accident made him very ill and he developed a phobia about riding on trains, which was, of course, necessary for his extensive reading tours.

Our Mutual Friend, with its themes of death and resurrection, the dominant image of the enormous dust-heap, and its modern scenes of social realism, was illustrated by Marcus Stone, a younger, more "modern" artist than Phiz. His forty illustrations were engraved on wood by the Dalziel Brothers and W.T. Green and thus provide quite a different effect from the etchings in the earlier illustrated books. In book form it was published in two volumes on January 20th 1865 and October 21st 1865. The Postscript describes the Staplehurst crash and concludes "I remember with devout thankfulness that I can never be much nearer parting company with my readers for ever, than I was then, until there shall be written against my life, the two words with which I have this day closed this book: — THE END." This was to be the last time he used those words.

THE MYSTERY OF EDWIN DROOD

"Stranger, pause and ask thyself the question, canst thou do likewise?
If not, with a blush retire"

DICKENS paid a second visit to the United States (but not Canada) from November 9th 1867 to May 1st 1868. The series of readings proved very lucrative but further undermined his health and he was now continually ill. Nevertheless, in the autumn of 1869 he signed a contract with Chapman and Hall for a twelve-part novel. He was paid seventy-five hundred pounds and allowed a half share of the profits but the contract also stipulated that in the event of his death, an independent arbitrator would determine the amount to be repaid to the publisher.

The Mystery of Edwin Drood, a title taken from a list of seventeen, is a murder mystery, explored through the consciousness of the murderer, John Jasper. It opens with a powerfully described scene in a London opium den but the scene shifts to the Cathedral town of Cloisterham, the Rochester of Dickens' childhood.

The plot is complex and only half the book was finished, the last lines having been written on June 8th 1870, the day before his death. Its unfinished state has provided an opportunity for hundreds of Dickensians to attempt to unravel the mystery and there exists a considerable literature of Droodiana.

The first number of *Edwin Drood* was published at the beginning of April and sold almost fifty thousand copies. It continued to be issued regularly every month until the sixth and final number in September. In book form it was published on August 31st 1870. Dickens had agreed that the book would be illustrated by his son-in-law, Charles Collins, the brother of Wilkie and an invalid. Collins did design the cover but could do no more and a young artist, Luke Fildes, was commissioned to provide the rest. Fildes did thirteen illustrations, which were engraved on wood by the Dalziel brothers and Charles Roberts. The book also contains a frontispiece portrait of Dickens engraved by J.H. Baker.

THE CHRISTMAS BOOKS

"And so, as Tiny Tim observed, God Bless Us, Every One!"

AT the beginning of October 1843 Dickens travelled to Manchester to speak on behalf of the Manchester Athenaeum. He addressed a large crowd on the importance of education, the ragged schools, and the evils of child labour. He was also meditating on how to increase his income and from these twin motives was born *A Christmas Carol*, with its twin spectral children, Ignorance and Want, but also the enduring characters of Scrooge and Tiny Tim and its Christmas mood of redemption. It was written quickly in about six weeks and published by Chapman and Hall on commission. This meant that Dickens had full control over its production and he went to some lengths to ensure that it was a handsome book. John Leech provided four hand-coloured etchings as plates and four woodcuts were placed in the text. It was bound in red, gilt-stamped cloth with gilt edges, and some indication of Dickens' fussiness is given by the existence of two issues and four separate states of the first edition with a mixture of red and blue and red and green title-pages and yellow and green end-papers. It was published on December 19th in an edition of six thousand copies and they had all, apparently, been sold by Christmas Eve. By

"What have I to fear?" said Trotty. "It's a church! Besides, the ringers may be there, and have forgotten to shut the door."

So he went in; feeling his way as he went, like a blind

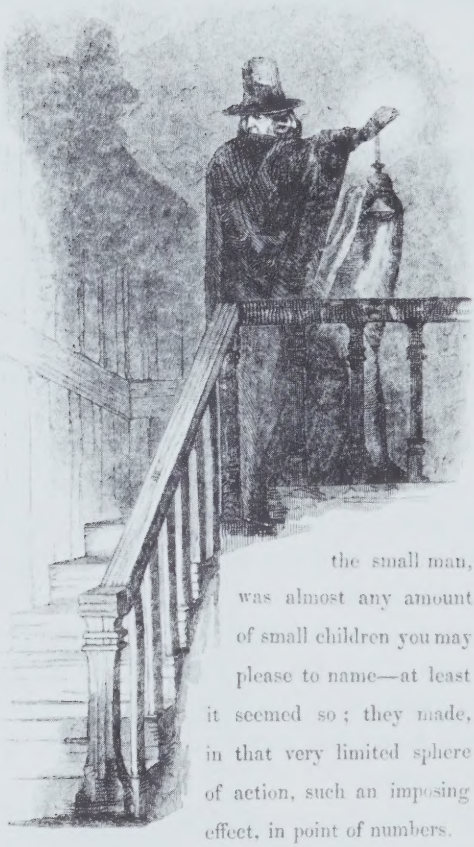
'The Old Church' by Clarkson Stanfield from *The Chimes*

May 1844 seven editions had been published and sold, but despite its great success, Dickens' profit was less than two hundred pounds, due to the cost of production. Even so, he was determined to continue the tradition of an annual Christmas story and they appeared regularly, in various forms, for the rest of his life.

The Chimes was written in Genoa during October 1844 and published on December 16th by Chapman and Hall, although its title-page is dated 1845. The story of poor Trotty Veck, whose visions of sorrow and death are, in the end, relieved through Christmas charity, pleased Dickens very much. He felt it had "knocked the Carol out of the field" and, indeed, it sold very well. Dickens read it aloud to a group of his radical friends: Forster, Carlyle, Maclise, Stanfield, Fox, Blanchard, and Jerrold and, according to Maclise "there was not a dry eye in the house". It contained thirteen illustrations, both engravings and woodcuts, by Maclise, Richard Doyle, John Leech and Clarkson Stanfield. Its appearance was designed to match *A Christmas Carol* and it also went through several editions.

The Cricket on the Hearth was written sporadically over the last few months of 1845 and published on December 20th. Its imprint reads "Printed and published for the author, by Bradbury and Evans", reflecting Dickens' new publishing arrangements. It is a tale about unfounded suspicions of marital infidelity, without much social dimension, and although it sold even more copies than *The Chimes,* it was not a critical success. "Sentimental Twaddle" and "the babblings of genius in its premature dotage" were two of the published comments. Its fourteen illustrations were shared among Leech, Doyle, Stanfield, Maclise, and Edwin Landseer.

The Battle of Life: A Love Story was written in Lausanne and Geneva and finished on September 17th 1846. Its title was immediately recognizable as a stock phrase in Victorian England which implied continual and earnest conflict, but the story concerns two sisters who both love the same man and instead of conflict, one apparently cheerfully renounces love for the sake of her sister. It was illustrated by four of the same friends who had done the previous two Christmas books (Maclise, Doyle, Stanfield and Leech) and published on December 19th. Again it sold well and there were seventeen dramatic adaptations of it, but its critical reception was very tepid.


the small man,
was almost any amount
of small children you may
please to name—at least
it seemed so; they made,
in that very limited sphere
of action, such an imposing
effect, in point of numbers.

The Haunted Man by John Tenniel from *The Haunted Man and the Ghost's Bargain*

The Haunted Man and the Ghost's Bargain, Dickens' last Christmas book, is the story of a mournful man and his memories of a wretched family life. It was written towards the end of 1848 (there had been no 1847 Christmas book) and published on December 19th. Two of the usual illustrators, Leech and Stanfield, were joined in this book by John Tenniel and Frank Stone, and together they produced seventeen illustrations. *The Haunted Man* was received with more critical acclaim than *The Battle of Life* but was not a commercial success. Although Dickens now abandoned Christmas books, he continued to write stories for the Christmas numbers of both *Household Words* and *All the Year Round.*

Frontispiece from *The Battle of Life* by Daniel Maclise

Chapter the Fifth

MINOR WORKS

ALTHOUGH Dickens is remembered by posterity for his major novels, he also wrote a series of minor works in several different literary genres. *Sunday Under Three Heads*, published by Chapman and Hall in 1836, was written as a polemical pamphlet directed at the Sunday Observance Bill, which attempted to curtail severely Sunday amusements. Its sub-title, "As It Is; As Sabbath Bills Would Make It; As it Might Be Made" emphasized Dickens' appeal for the acceptance of "harmless pastimes, and innocent recreations", one of the themes of *Pickwick Papers*. The cover design, with three heads, and the three wood-engraved plates were done by Hablot Browne.

The Village Coquettes, the second of Dickens' plays to be staged, was written at the suggestion of John Hullah, a young composer. It was a "burletta", a sentimental comedy of forbidden love between those of different "stations" in life. It was published by Richard Bentley in 1836, but after it opened on December 6th 1836, lasted for only nineteen performances. It was clearly not a great success and in later life, when asked by Frederick Locker-Lampson whether he still possessed a copy, Dickens replied that "if I knew it was in my house and if I could not get rid of it in any other way, I would burn the wing of the house where it was".

The Lamplighter, a farce written for William Macready in 1838, was never performed but was adapted by Dickens as *The Lamplighter's Story* for *The Pic Nic Papers* in 1841. This three-volume compilation was edited by Dickens for the benefit of the widow of John Macrone. *The Lamplighter* first appeared in print in 1879, edited by Richard Herne Shepherd from the manuscript which had been carefully preserved by Forster.

In the autumn of 1837 Dickens agreed to edit *The Memoirs of Joseph Grimaldi*, the famous clown who had recently died. This project was initiated by Bentley, who had bought from Thomas Egerton Wilks a condensed version of Grimaldi's own account of his life. How much of the book is from the pen of Grimaldi and

how much from Dickens is difficult to ascertain, but it sold well, due primarily to the etched plates by Cruikshank. Even Dickens later acknowledged that "the good right hand of George Cruikshank had seldom been better exercised".

The last collaboration between Dickens and Cruikshank was *The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman*, published by Charles Tilt in 1839. Cruikshank had heard a Cockney version of this traditional English ballad sung in the street and had repeated it to Dickens. Thackeray arranged the verses and Dickens wrote mock-scholarly notes for them, while Cruikshank executed thirteen etchings in his best comic style.

In 1850 Dickens began the composition of *A Child's History of England* by dictating the narrative to Georgina Hogarth, his sister-in-law, during his spare time. It took three years to complete and was aimed primarily at his own children. All of it was, however, serialized in *Household Words* in 1851 and the complete work appeared in three volumes between 1852 and 1854. He used conventional Victorian sources for the historical chronology but invested them with his own radical imagination and made the scenes melodramatic and theatrical to catch the children's attention. The book was also violently opinionated and militantly Protestant: James I was referred to as "His Sowship" and Henry VIII was characterized as "one of the most detestable villains that ever drew breath".

Between January and October, 1860 Dickens wrote a series of essays for *All the Year Round* under the persona of the "Uncommercial Traveller". The Traveller roams around London and reports on the sad conditions of many of its inhabitants, recalls macabre tales of his childhood, and describes suicides in Wapping. He also visits the morgue in Paris, transports an immense bottle of wine from Italy, and describes the Flemish countryside. Many of the essays are autobiographical. In December 1860 (dated 1861) seventeen of them were published as a book by Chapman and Hall and eleven more were added to a new edition in 1866. A further eight essays were added to the 1875 edition, with illustrations by Marcus Stone.

In the autumn of 1857 Dickens made a journey with Wilkie Collins to the north of England, ostensibly to gather material for a series of articles to be published in *Household Words*. Not coincidently, Ellen Ternan and her mother were performing at a theatre in Doncaster, where Dickens and Collins also went to cover the famous race meeting. They assumed the pseudonyms Thomas Idle

'Lord Bateman as he appeared previous to his embarkation' by George Cruikshank from *The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman*

and Francis Goodchild and each contributed to the "journal" some of their experiences, which were then called *The Lazy Tour of Two Idle Apprentices*. This appeared in *Household Words* in October 1857 but was not issued in book form until 1890.

Dickens' farce *Is She His Wife?* was written in 1837 and performed at the St. James's Theatre. It is claimed that a unique copy of an 1837 edition was destroyed by fire in Boston in 1879, a reprint of it having been published by James Osgood in 1877. A Chapman and Hall edition was published some time between 1872 and 1874 in London and is the surviving first edition.

Another farce written by Dickens and Mark Lemon, *Mr. Nightingale's Diary*, was performed privately in Devonshire House in 1851 with Dickens playing several of its roles. The proceeds went to the Guild of Literature and Art, founded by Dickens and Bulwer-Lytton, to benefit impoverished authors and artists. The play was privately printed for Dickens in 1851, presumably in only a few copies, and is now very rare. An American edition was published in Boston by Osgood in 1877 and his copy of the original is supposed to have perished in the same fire that destroyed *Is She His Wife?*

In 1852 Dickens contributed a story to *The Keepsake*, an annual. It was called "To Be Read at Dusk" and occupied only fifteen pages. Not too surprisingly it was noticed by the notorious literary forgers Thomas J. Wise and Harry Buxton Forman and, in 1891, they produced a pamphlet version with the simple imprint "London, 1852". In the May 16th 1891 issue of *The Athenaeum,* Charles P. Johnson, the author of *Hints to Collectors ... of Charles Dickens* (1885), obligingly described it from the apparently unique copy lent to him by Tregaskis the bookseller, which was priced at twenty-five guineas. Two copies appeared at auction in 1893 and *To Be Read at Dusk* became established as a Dickens "rarity"; in fact forty-two copies were sold by auction between 1893 and 1932. In 1910 Wise supplied Herbert Gorfin, the bookseller through whom the forgeries found their way onto the market after that date, with fifty copies. In 1934 John Carter and Graham Pollard published their exposé of the Wise forgeries, *An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets*, and condemned *To Be Read at Dusk* on the basis of its paper. It was printed on a mixture of esparto grass and straw, but esparto was not used in the manufacture of paper until 1861, nine years after its supposed publication date.

Chapter the Sixth

COLLECTING DICKENS

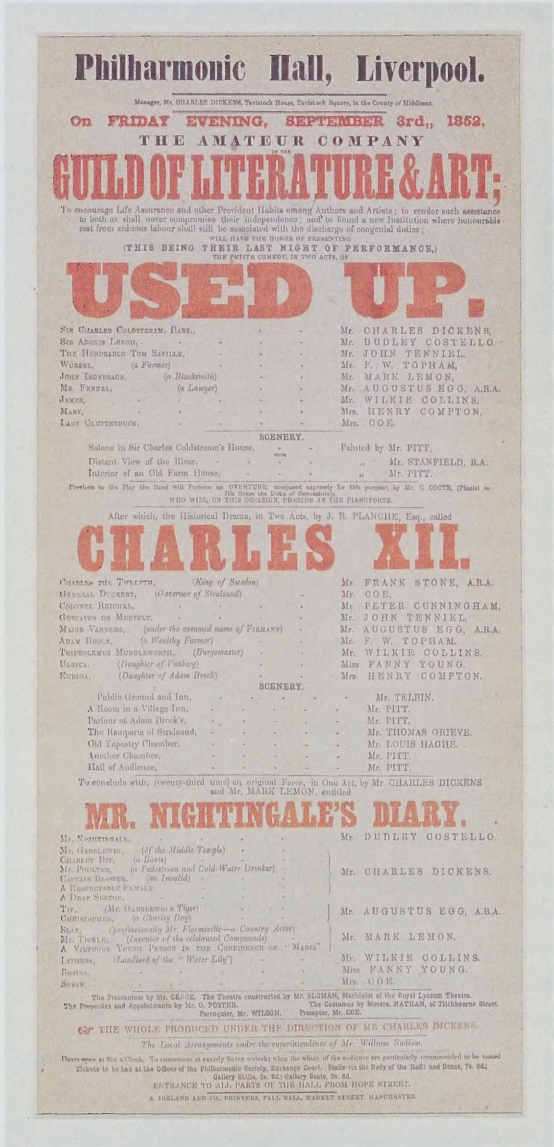
By Dan Calinescu

WHEN I arrived in London in July 1984, little did I know that my life was to be changed forever that summer by a book!

During one of my sightseeing rambles, I wandered into the Prince's Arcade which connects Piccadilly with Jermyn Street. I stopped at the window of Cavendish Rare Books where I saw displayed a first edition of O*liver Twist*. Although I had not read a great deal of Dickens' writings previously, I was familiar with his story of the workhouse boy because of my involvement with Lionel Bart's musical *Oliver!* I asked to see the books and while I carefully examined them, I felt a sense of awe that this was actually a first edition of one of my favorite stories. The set was priced at £300, which seemed a fortune for one who had never considered the purchase of a rare book. I left the shop without buying, but I could not get the books out of my mind. Over the next few days I passed by the same bookshop window many times to look at my treasure.

I then left for Dublin on a three week trip around the Emerald Isle. When I arrived, I made my way to the bookshops along the banks of the River Liffey and in each headed straight for the Dickens section. There I purchased my first 'old' book; *Oliver Twist* in the Charles Dickens edition published by Chapman and Hall in 1867, three years before Dickens' death. The price for this treasure was one Irish pound, roughly equivalent to one of our dollars. As I made my way around Ireland, bookshops became part of my routine, along with the pubs and the sightseeing. All my initial purchases were quite inexpensive editions of various Dickens' titles and books about Dickens, but I was frequently thinking about the *Oliver Twist* I had left behind.

At the conclusion of my Irish odyssey, I returned to London. My first outing was to see if my book was still there. It was, and that evening I finally decided that I could not live without that three-volume beauty and so the following day I made it mine. The rest, as the saying goes, is history.



Philharmonic Hall, Liverpool.

Manager, Mr. CHARLES DICKENS, Tavistock House, Tavistock Square, in the County of Middlesex.

On FRIDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 3rd,, 1852,

THE AMATEUR COMPANY

OF THE

GUILD OF LITERATURE & ART;

To encourage Life Assurance and other Provident Habits among Authors and Artists; to render such assistance to both as shall never compromise their independence; and to found a new Institution where honourable rest from arduous labour shall still be associated with the discharge of congenial duties;

WILL HAVE THE HONOR OF PRESENTING

(THIS BEING THEIR LAST NIGHT OF PERFORMANCE,)

THE FIFTH COMEDY, IN TWO ACTS, OF

USED UP.

Sir Charles Coldstream, Bart.,	Mr. CHARLES DICKENS.
Sir Adonis Leigh,	Mr. DUDLEY COSTELLO.
The Honorable Tom Saville,	Mr. JOHN TENNIEL.
Wurzel, (a Farmer)	Mr. F. W. TOPHAM,
John Ironbrace, (a Blacksmith)	Mr. MARK LEMON,
Mr. Fennel, (a Lawyer)	Mr. AUGUSTUS EGG, A.R.A.
James,	Mr. WILKIE COLLINS,
Mary,	Mrs. HENRY COMPTON.
Lady Clutterbuck,	Mrs. COE.

SCENERY.

Saloon in Sir Charles Coldstream's House,	Painted by Mr. PITT,
Distant View of the River,	" Mr. STANFIELD, R.A.
Interior of an Old Farm House,	" Mr. PITT.

Previous to the Play the Band will Perform an OVERTURE, composed expressly for this purpose, by Mr. C. COOTE, (Pianist to His Grace the Duke of Devonshire);

WHO WILL, ON THIS OCCASION, PRESIDE AT THE PIANOFORTE.

After which, the Historical Drama, in Two Acts, by J. R. PLANCHE, Esq., called

CHARLES XII.

Charles the Twelfth, (King of Sweden)	Mr. FRANK STONE, A.R.A.
Count Dickert, (Governor of Stralsund)	Mr. COE.
Colonel Reichel,	Mr. PETER CUNNINGHAM.
Gustavus de Mentelt,	Mr. JOHN TENNIEL,
Major Vanberg, (under the assumed name of Firmans)	Mr. AUGUSTUS EGG, A.R.A.
Adam Brock, (a Wealthy Farmer)	Mr. F. W. TOPHAM.
Triptolemus Muddlewortii, (Burgomaster)	Mr. WILKIE COLLINS.
Ulrica, (Daughter of Vanberg)	Miss FANNY YOUNG.
Rudda, (Daughter of Adam Brock)	Mrs. HENRY COMPTON.

SCENERY.

Public Ground and Inn,	Mr. TELBIN.
A Room in a Village Inn,	Mr. PITT.
Parlour at Adam Brock's,	Mr. PITT.
The Ramparts of Stralsund,	Mr. THOMAS GRIEVE.
Old Tapestry Chamber,	Mr. LOUIS HAGHE.
Another Chamber,	Mr. PITT.
Hall of Audience,	Mr. PITT.

To conclude with, (twenty-third time) an original Farce, in One Act, by Mr. CHARLES DICKENS and Mr. MARK LEMON, entitled

MR. NIGHTINGALE'S DIARY.

Mr. Nightingale,	Mr. DUDLEY COSTELLO.
Mr. Gabrielwig, (Of the Middle Temple)	Mr. CHARLES DICKENS.
Celibate Bye, (a Quaker)	
Mr. Poulter, (a Pedestrian and Cold-Water Drinker)	
Captain Blower, (an Invalid)	
A Hypochondriac Female,	
A Dray Sinton,	
Tip, (Mr. Gabrielwig's Tiger)	Mr. AUGUSTUS EGG, A.R.A.
Christopher, (a Charity Boy)	
Bray, (occasionally Mr. Flowerville—a Country Actor)	Mr. MARK LEMON.
Mr. Tickle, (Inventor of the celebrated Compounds)	
A Virtuous Young Person in the Confidence of "Maria"	Mr. WILKIE COLLINS.
Letitia, (Landlord of the "Water Lily")	Miss FANNY YOUNG.
Dorcas,	Mrs. COE.
Susan,	

The Procession by Mr. CRAIG. The Theatre constructed by Mr. SLOMAN, Machinist of the Royal Lyceum Theatre.
The Properties and Appointments by Mr. G. FOSTER. The Costumes by Messrs. NATHAN, of Titchbourne Street.
Perruquier, Mr. WILSON. Prompter, Mr. COE.

THE WHOLE PRODUCED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF MR CHARLES DICKENS.

The Local Arrangements under the superintendence of Mr. William Sadlow.

Doors open at Six o'Clock. To commence at exactly Seven o'clock; thus the wheels of the orchestra are particularly recommended to be seated

Tickets to be had at the Offices of the Philharmonic Society, Richmond Court; Sadlow (in the Body of the Hall) and Bones, 7a. 6d.;
Gallery Stalls, 5s. 6d.; Gallery Seats, 3s. 6d.

ENTRANCE TO ALL PARTS OF THE HALL FROM HOPE STREET.

A. HEILAND AND CO., PRINTERS, PALL MALL, MARKET STREET, MANCHESTER.

Playbill from Liverpool (1852) featuring Dickens as Author, Director and Actor. The cast also includes John Tenniel, Mark Lemon, Augustus Egg and Wilkie Collins.

On my return to Toronto, I visited all the book shops and started to buy as if my time on earth was very limited and I had to acquire as many books as quickly as possible. With the advice and help of many of our local booksellers my collection grew steadily. Along with it my interest in Dickens the man and the writer increased and I wanted to find out as much about him as I could. I joined the Dickens Fellowship of Toronto, which was established in 1905, and became a frequent visitor to the Dickens' House Museum of 48 Doughty Street in London during my summer visits to that city.

At present my collection contains thousands of items of Dickens interest, ranging from first editions in parts to playbills; from contemporary newspapers to bookmarks; and from books from Dickens' library to letters written by the great man himself. Many of my finer possessions of Dickensiana make up the exhibit on Dickens and his publishers and his illustrators, and I hope that viewers will get as much pleasure seeing them as I get collecting them.

The history of Dickens collecting certainly did not start with Dickens himself. He freely gave away bits of manuscripts of his novels and stories to friends, relatives, publishers, printers and, it seems, to just about anyone who wanted some. It is for this reason that many of the original manuscripts of Dickens have disappeared: perhaps someday, somewhere, I might just find a few pages in some dusty corner.

The first really serious collector of Dickensiana was John Forster, Dickens' friend and confidante who eventually became the executor of the will and a major recipient of his literary bequest. When Forster died in 1876 he left his large collection of Dickens material to the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum) in London, where it is to this day.

After Dickens' death, the estate of books, art and memorabilia not already bequeathed was auctioned off by Christie, Manson & Woods (July 9th, 1870) and made some surprisingly high prices. His personally annotated reading copy of *A Christmas Carol* was sold for £25 and his favorite raven, the Grip of *Barnaby Rudge,* suitably stuffed and in a glass case, brought £126. Daniel Maclise's portrait of Dickens went for £693 and W.P. Frith's painting of Dolly Vardon, a character from Barnaby Rudge realized the highest price of any piece in this sale of over 700 items — an astonishing £1,050 (remember, this was 1870!).

In 1880, Richard Herne Shepherd compiled one of the first bibliographies of the first appearances of the works of Dickens. Two books with *Hints to*

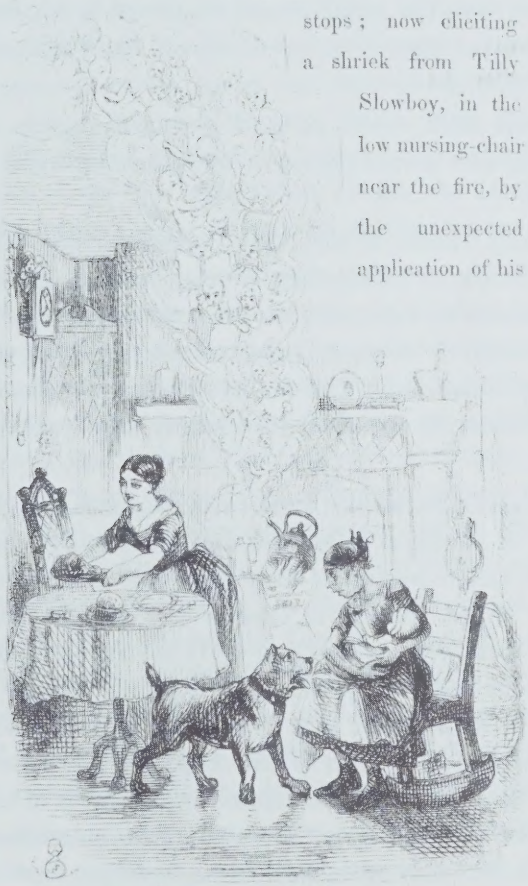
Dickens Collectors by John Dexter in 1884 and by C.P. Johnson in 1885 were followed by F.G. Kitton's *Dickensiana* in 1888. The Victoria and Albert Museum also issued a catalogue of the Forster Collection in the same year. Dickens material appeared regularly in auction rooms; in 1883, for instance, Sotheby's sold 32 pages of the manuscript of *Pickwick Papers* and about 250 pages of the manuscript of *Nicholas Nickleby* for £51 (one page of *Pickwick* manuscript sold in New York in 1988 for $28,000). The lot was sold to a collector in the United States, much to the chagrin of British Dickensians.

The 1920s saw the disposal of a large number of formidable Dickens collections. In 1921, the H.W. Bruton sale made headlines, and in 1922 the bibliographer of Dickens' American Editions, W.M. Glyde Wilkins, brought more Dickens material onto the market. George Barr McCutcheon's collection was sold in New York in April 1926. Among the lots was a manuscript excerpt of *O'Thello*, a play written by Dickens in 1833, and an almost perfect *Pickwick* in parts. It also included a presentation copy of *The Cricket On The Hearth* to George Cruikshank, and twelve numbers of the *Gad's Hill Gazette*, which was edited and printed by Henry Fielding Dickens as a boy at Gad's Hill, and which reported everyday happenings of the Dickens household. The collection of the bibliographer of Dickens' works in parts, Thomas Hatton, was offered for sale in New York in December 1927. It contained *Sketches By Boz* in parts, another fine *Pickwick* in parts, *Oliver Twist* in parts, and Dickens' own set of *All The Year Round.*

Jerome Kern, the musician and composer, had a fabulous collection of Dickens material which came to auction in January 1929. Lot one was Dickens' marriage license which sold for $3,900; the Jupp-Kern copy of the "perfect" *Pickwick* in parts made $28,000; and a variety of original illustrations by Hablot Knight Browne and Robert Seymour went for about $5000 each. The first edition of *The Strange Gentleman* brought $10,500, and three pages of manuscript from *Oliver Twist* $8500. Thus the sale proceeded; presentation copies, manuscripts, trial issues, and finally, Dickens' Memoranda book from 1844 to his death in 1870, which sold for a mere $15,000. It was a truly unmatched collection of Dickensiana.

In the thirties, additional parts of the collections of Hatton and R.T. Jupp as well as those of G.B. Ulizio and the famed English bookseller, Charles J. Sawyer, came under the hammer. The well-known bibliophile A. Edward Newton's

bringing himself to sudden stops; now eliciting a shriek from Tilly Slowboy, in the low nursing-chair near the fire, by the unexpected application of his



'John's Arrival' by John Leech from *The Cricket on the Hearth*

Dickens treasures were auctioned off in 1941. They included John Leech's original drawings for *A Christmas Carol*, a presentation copy of *Sunday Under Three Heads* (which sold in New York last fall for U.S. $7000), the Bruton-Patterson copy of *Pickwick* in parts and a completely uncut copy of *A Christmas Carol*, made up from proof sheets. Also part of this sale were Dickens' presentation copy of the Christmas Books to the original of 'Dora' of *David Copperfield* (the great love of his youth Maria Beadnell, by now Mrs. Winter), and a copy of the first edition of the *Mystery of Edwin Drood* in the earliest known dust-jacket.

During all these sales, two of the more prominent Dickens collectors of the twentieth century were quietly buying in international markets to enhance their own collections.

Colonel Richard Gimbel, of New York Department store fame, assembled a world class collection of Dickensiana. It contained first editions, hundreds of letters and documents in autograph, and the manuscript of *The Mudfog Papers*, along with thousands of items of Dickensian interest. Upon his death in 1970 the complete collection was willed to Yale University, where it now resides. Scholars from around the world use it to further their studies on Dickens and his genius.

The Comte Alain De Suzannet, a scholar and bibliophile who lived in Lausanne, formed another of the finest collections of Dickensiana in the world. During his lifetime, the Comte presented many important items from his collection to the Dickens' House Museum in London, and after his death in 1950, his wife continued these generous gifts. In 1971 she donated about one half of the collection to the Dickens' House, and sold the rest. What a sale that was! A complete set of 42 drawings by H.K. Browne for *Little Dorrit*, sold for £4400, over 250 autographed letters, many of great importance, sold for about £50 each, along with first editions, presentation copies and hundreds of items of memorabilia. Dickens own reading copy of *Mrs. Gamp* from his second American tour made £3600. The two most spectacular items, however, were twelve pages of manuscript from *Pickwick* and twenty-two pages from *Nicholas Nickleby*, which were sold, for £9000 and £12,000 respectively. This was the last grand sale of Dickens items to this date and I still heave deep sighs every time I see the price-list for this treasure trove, thinking what I could have had if my interest in collecting Dickensiana had begun some twenty years earlier!

It is a bibliophile's delight to visit some of the great institutional repositories of Dickensian treasures. The Victoria and Albert Museum's Forster Collection ranks among the greatest in the world. Dickens' House at 48 Doughty Street in London not only has an exceptionally large library of Dickens material but also many items of personal memorabilia of Dickens and his family. The Yale University Gimbel Collection contains many varied Dickens items, and the Vanderpoel Collection at the University of Texas in Austin has a very large number of Dickensian items. In the Philadelphia Free Library one can find the complete manuscript of the *Life of Our Lord* along with more than one thousand letters. The J. Pierpont Morgan Library owns the one and only manuscript of *A Christmas Carol*, and the Rosenbach Museum in Philadelphia, the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library, the Library of Congress and, of course, the British Library all have substantial Dickens collections.

Collecting Dickens and Dickensiana seems to be pursued by a great number of individuals. One of the finest collections in private hands is said to be that of Professor Harry Stone of California, a long time collector and authority on Dickens and his writings. I have not yet had the privilege to see his treasures. As for myself, I am always looking for that new and exciting piece that I never thought I would find, such as '*The Extraordinary Gazette*' or the complete set of seventy-nine parts of '*Oliver Twiss*', a famous and very rare imitation of '*Oliver Twist*' of which there is no other known copy in the original parts. My unrecorded edition of *Hard Times*, the T.J. Wise forgery of *To Be Read At Dusk* and the magnificent playbill for The Guild of Literature and Art, which contains Dickens' name as Playwright, Director, Producer and Actor, along with those of Mark Lemon and Wilkie Collins, are pieces of pure enjoyment, especially because they were bought at a good price. It is strange to think that the discovery of one book back in 1984 has led to such riches in knowledge, new friends and a continuous life-long search for the elusive missing treasures.

My thanks to Richard Landon and the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library for providing me with an opportunity to share my treasures with the public in this exhibition of Dickens and his work.

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THERE is a vast literature concerning Dickens' life and writings which is admirably summarized in Peter Ackroyd's *Dickens* (London, 1990). Ackroyd's biography and Edgar Johnson's *Charles Dickens: His Tragedy and Triumph* (New York, 1952) have been particularly helpful. Among the specialized studies *Charles Dickens and His Publishers* by Robert L. Patten (Oxford, 1978) and *Dickens at Work* by John Butt and Kathleen Tillotson (London 1968) have been most useful. N.N. Feltes' *Modes of Production of Victorian Novels* (Chicago, 1986), with its chapter on *Pickwick Papers* has been stimulating. The standard bibliographies of Dickens, John C. Eckel's *The First Editions of the Writings of Charles Dickens* (London, 1913 and 1932), Thomas Hatton and Arthur H. Cleaver's *A Bibliography of the Periodical Works of Charles Dickens* (London, 1933), and Walter E. Smith's *Charles Dickens in the Original Cloth* (Los Angeles, 1982-83) have been indispensible, as has *The Charles Dickens Encyclopedia* by Michael and Mollie Hardwick (Reading, 1973). The Gimbel Collection catalogue, *Dickens and Dickensiana*, compiled by John B. Podeschi (New Haven, 1980) has been a useful source of bibliographical information and the Victoria and Albert Museum exhibition catalogue *Charles Dickens* (London, 1970) has proved a wonderful source of erudite notes. Two antiquarian booksellers' catalogues have been of particular assistance and I would like to acknowledge Maggs Bros. Ltd. for their Catalogue 1120, devoted to Dickens and Scott, and Jarndyce Antiquarian Booksellers for their Catalogue LXXXIII, one of their on-going series of catalogues of Dickens. For information regarding Dickens' visit to Toronto I am grateful for conversations with Greg Gatenby.

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